

Eighteenth National Convention Socialist Labor Party

April 30—May 2, 1932

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



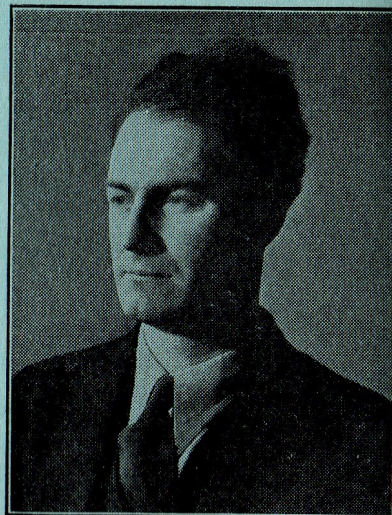
National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
45 Rose Street
New York



V. L. REYNOLDS,
Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for President, 1932

"That time, for which our Party so long has been preparing the workers, is now here. Our predictions, based only upon careful scientific analysis of the workings of capitalism, have been verified by history itself. Economically, the capitalist system *has* broken down—the collapse of its social structure is within measurable distance."

—REYNOLDS.



J. W. AIKEN,
Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for Vice President, 1932

"Fortunately for the interests of the working class the currents of the time are sweeping our way. The institutions of capitalism, now rapidly on the decline, need only be pushed aside by the organized workers and a form of society established where 'the free condition of each is the condition of the free development of all.'"

—AIKEN.

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NO MATTER WHICH WAY YOU CUT IT—
IT REMAINS CAPITALIST BOLONEY!

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THE EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

Morning Session, Saturday, April 30.

Convention called to order at 10 a.m. by National Secretary, Arnold Petersen. P. E. De Lee, New York, was nominated as temporary chairman. W. Woodhouse of Ohio was elected temporary vice chairman. Ward Beckwith of Pennsylvania was elected temporary secretary.

A Committee on Credentials was elected as follows: F. N. H. Lang of Maryland; L. Zimmerman of New York; Theodore Baeff of Bulgarian Federation.

A recess of ten minutes was declared that this committee might examine the credentials of the delegates and report:

The Credentials Committee submitted the following statement, having examined the credentials:

"We are herewith submitting a list of the States and Federations entitled to representation at the 18th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, with a list of the delegates:

California, entitled to two delegates, sending one, R. W. Stevens.

Connecticut, one delegate, A. M. Gully.

Illinois, one delegate, Frank Schnur.
Indiana, one delegate, Charles Lynch.

Kentucky, one delegate, A. Schmutz.
Maryland, one delegate, F. N. H. Lang.

Massachusetts, one delegate, J. W. Aiken.

Michigan, one delegate, R. A. O'Brien.

Minnesota, one delegate, William Foy.

Missouri, one delegate, W.W. Cox.
New Jersey, one delegate, J. Yan-
nerelli.

New York, four delegates, P. E. De Lee, O. M. Johnson, V. L. Reynolds, L. Zimmerman.

Ohio, two delegates, E. H. Culshaw, W. Woodhouse.

Pennsylvania, one delegate, W. Beckwith.

Rhode Island, one delegate, C. F. Bishop.

Wisconsin, one delegate, J. Ehrhardt.

Bulgarian Federation, five delegates, Theodore Baeff, Theodore Gramaticoff, S. S. Saraliev, S. Sterioff, D. Stancheff.

Hungarian Federation, two delegates, J. Mackay, F. Zermann.

South Slavonian Federation, six delegates, M. P. Chuck, M. Malenich, L. Petrovich, F. Rack, L. Stefanovich, R. M. Albijanich.

The committee recommended that the foregoing be seated as delegates to the convention. Moved and seconded that this report be accepted as read.

Committee on Rules was elected consisting of the following: Theodore Gramaticoff, Bulgarian Federation; J. Mackay, Hungarian Federation; R. A. O'Brien, Michigan.

The Committee on Rules recommended for adoption the following order of business and rules:

A.

1. Organization.
 - a. Election of chairman, vice-chairman and secretary.
 - b. Election of a permanent sergeant-at-arms and a messenger.
2. Election of Committee on Mileage.
3. Report of the National Executive Committee.
4. Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.
5. Election of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions pertaining thereto.
6. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions pertaining thereto.
7. Election of Committee on Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization and Resolutions pertaining thereto.
8. Election of Auditing Committee.
9. Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature.
10. International Socialist Movement.

11. National Campaign.
12. Roll Call of Delegates for the Introduction of Resolutions for Reference to Committees.

B.

The following order of business for each day after the first day:

1. Election of Chairman.
2. Roll Call of Delegates.
3. Reading of Minutes.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of Committees and Action Thereon.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. The last half hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be read and referred to the appropriate committees.
9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 m. Afternoon sessions from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. Evening sessions if necessary.

C.

1. Nomination of Candidates for United States President and Vice President, second day of the convention.
2. Election of Committee on Vacancy, following nominations for President and Vice President.
3. Election of National Secretary, second day of the convention.
4. Election of Editor of WEEKLY PEOPLE, second day of the convention.
5. Report of Committee on Platform, second day of the convention, immediately following election of officers.

Recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

Comrade Johnson made a motion,

which was carried, that the temporary chairman and temporary vice chairman be made permanent for the day.

The temporary recording secretary was elected permanent secretary. M. Tolley Wilkenfeldt was elected assistant secretary.

Harry Thal was elected sergeant-at-arms and messenger.

The Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: F. N. H. Lang of Maryland, E. H. Culshaw of Ohio, M. P. Chuck of the South Slavonian Federation.

The next order of business was the report of the National Executive Committee. As this was a lengthy report, the motion was made and carried that the convention adjourn until the afternoon session to meet at 1 p.m.

Adjournment at 11.40 a.m.

Afternoon Session, Saturday,
April 30.

The meeting was called to order by Chairman P. E. De Lee at 1 p.m.

The roll call of delegates was omitted.

Minutes of the morning session were read and corrected and adopted as corrected.

Suggestion by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that the rules be temporarily suspended to hear the report of the Mileage Committee prior to the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee. On ruling by the chair, it was so ordered.

A ten-minute recess was declared at 1.20 to permit the Mileage Committee to complete its report.

Convention called to order at 1.30.

The Mileage Committee reported total mileage of \$1,478.83 and recommended that the sum be paid, and

that the report be referred to the Auditing Committee.

Motion by L. Zimmerman of New York that the recommendation of the Mileage Committee be concurred in, and the report be referred to the Auditing Committee. Motion carried.

Report of the National Executive Committee to the 18th National Convention was read by National Secretary, Arnold Petersen.

Motion by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that a recess of ten minutes be taken at 3.10 p.m. Motion carried.

Convention called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Reading of the report of the National Executive Committee was resumed. On request of the National Secretary the reports of the Language Federations were read by M. Tolley Wilkenfeldt, assistant recording secretary.

Motion by L. Zimmerman of New York to adjourn until 10 a.m. Sunday, May 1. Motion carried.

Convention adjourned 5 p.m.

Morning Session, Sunday, May 1.

Convention was called to order at 10 a.m. by Chairman P. E. De Lee.

P. E. De Lee of Troy was elected chairman for the day.

W. Foy of Minnesota was elected vice chairman for the day.

Roll call showed the following comrades absent: W. W. Cox of Missouri, O. M. Johnson of New York, C. F. Bishop of Rhode Island, J. Mackay of Hungarian Federation.

Minutes of the Saturday afternoon session, April 30, were read, and corrected, and adopted as corrected, on motion by L. Zimmerman of New York.

The National Secretary resumed

and completed the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee.

Motion made by L. Zimmerman of New York and seconded by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that the report of the National Executive Committee be adopted and the parts requiring action be turned over to the various committees concerned. Motion carried.

Motion by O. M. Johnson of New York, seconded by W. Woodhouse of Ohio, that the hour for the election of the presidential candidates be set for 3 p.m. today. Motion carried.

Rules were temporarily suspended to permit the election at this time of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

Motion by O. M. Johnson of New York that a platform committee of three be elected. Motion carried.

A Committee on Platform and Resolutions was elected consisting of the following members: F. N. H. Lang of Maryland, E. H. Culshaw of Ohio, O. M. Johnson of New York.

Motion by V. L. Reynolds that the convention adjourn until 1.30 p.m. Motion carried.

The members absent at roll call were reported present during meeting.

Convention adjourned at 12.35 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 1.

Convention called to order at 1.30 p.m.

Roll call showed the following delegates absent: F. Schnur of Illinois, F. N. H. Lang of Maryland (on committee), J. W. Aiken of Massachusetts, O. M. Johnson of

New York (on committee), E. H. Culshaw of Ohio (on committee), Theo. Baeff of Bulgarian Federation, Theo. Gramaticoff of Bulgarian Federation, J. Mackay of Hungarian Federation, F. Zermann of Hungarian Federation.

Motion by V. L. Reynolds of New York, and seconded by W. Woodhouse of Ohio, that the secretary be instructed to incorporate in the minutes the names of the delegates who were absent when the roll was called, but who came in late. These were requested to report to the secretary upon their arrival. Motion carried.

W. Woodhouse of Ohio moved that the minutes be adopted as corrected. Motion carried.

Motion by L. Zimmerman of New York that the report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE be postponed, and that the convention proceed to the electing of committees.

A Committee on Constitution and Resolutions pertaining thereto was elected, consisting of the following members: L. Zimmerman of New York, V. L. Reynolds of New York, R. W. Stevens of California.

A Committee on Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization and Resolutions pertaining thereto was elected, consisting of the following members: O. M. Johnson of New York, W. W. Cox of Missouri, W. Woodhouse of Ohio.

The Auditing Committee was elected, consisting of the following members: L. Zimmerman of New York, Theo. Baeff of the Bulgarian Federation, F. Zermann of the Hungarian Federation.

A Committee on Party Press and Literature was elected, consisting of

the following: L. Petrovich of the South Slavonian Federation, Theo. Gramaticoff of the Bulgarian Federation, V. L. Reynolds of New York.

A Committee on International Socialist Movement was elected, consisting of the following: E. H. Culshaw of Ohio, P. E. De Lee of New York, O. M. Johnson of New York.

A Committee on National Campaign was elected, consisting of the following: W. Beckwith of Pennsylvania, W. Woodhouse of Ohio, P. E. De Lee of New York.

A telegram from Section Detroit was received. It sent its fraternal greetings to the Socialist Labor Party, per J. W. Tunkel, organizer.

The chairman, P. E. De Lee, declared a recess at 2.10 p.m.

Convention called to order 2.55 p.m.

The report of the Committee on Platform was read. Motion by V. L. Reynolds of New York was seconded by Ward Beckwith of Pennsylvania that the draft of the platform recommended by the Platform Committee be adopted. Motion carried. (See Appendix A.)

The nominations for the presidential candidates followed: Verne L. Reynolds of New York was unanimously nominated by the convention as our presidential candidate. John W. Aiken of Massachusetts was unanimously nominated by the convention as our vice presidential candidate.

Short addresses of acceptance were made by Verne L. Reynolds and John W. Aiken.

Motion by O. M. Johnson and seconded by W. Woodhouse that the N. E. C. Sub-Committee serve as the Committee on Vacancies. Motion carried.

The election of Party officers followed. Arnold Petersen was unanimously reelected National Secretary. Olive M. Johnson was unanimously reelected Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Olive M. Johnson read her report as Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Motion by L. Zimmerman of New York, and seconded by W. W. Cox of Missouri, that the Editor's report be received and referred to the Committee on Party Press and Literature. Motion carried.

Motion by O. M. Johnson of New York and seconded by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that when convention adjourned it should adjourn to meet Monday morning at 10 a.m. Motion carried.

Motion by L. Zimmerman of New York and seconded by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that a recess be declared until 5 p.m. Motion carried at 4.20 p.m.

Convention called to order at 5.25 p.m.

A telegram of greetings was received from the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation, Group "Zora," to the delegates per T. Todoroff, secretary.

The report of the Mileage Committee regarding the mileage paid to delegates was read and accepted as read.

The Auditing Committee reported that all accounts of the National Office and of the Party plant had been audited by certified public accountants and found correct.

Motion by J. Mackay, Hungarian Federation, that the Auditing Committee's report be accepted. Motion carried.

The Committee on Constitution

recommended that the convention concur in the constitutional changes proposed by the National Executive Committee. Motion by J. Mackay, Hungarian Federation, and seconded by J. W. Aiken of Massachusetts, that the recommendations made by the Committee on Constitution be concurred in. Motion carried. (See pp. 28-33.)

The report of the Committee on Attitude of the Party to Economic Organization was read. Motion by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that we concur in the recommendations of the Committee on Attitude of the Party to Economic Organization with the amendments made by him. Motion carried. (See Appendix B.)

The members absent at roll call were reported present during the meeting.

Motion by J. W. Aiken to adjourn until 10 a.m. Monday.

Convention adjourned at 5.50 p.m.

Morning Session, Monday, May 2.

The convention was called to order at 10.10 a.m. J. W. Aiken of Massachusetts was elected chairman for the day. Theo. Gramaticoff was elected vice chairman for the day.

Motion by W. Woodhouse of Ohio that the alternate delegate present his credentials to the Credentials Committee. Credentials Committee recommended that Paul Herzel of New York be seated in place of delegate L. Zimmerman of New York.

Roll call showed the following absent: J. Mackay of the Hungarian Federation.

The minutes of the afternoon session of Sunday, May 1, were read and corrected. The chairman de-

clared the minutes approved as corrected.

Telegram of greetings from Section Toronto was received.

Telegram of greetings received from the South Slavonian Federation reporting a contribution of \$42.25 to the Campaign Fund.

The report of the National Campaign Committee was read.

A motion of W. W. Cox of Missouri that the recommendations of the committee be concurred in. Motion carried.

The recommendation by O. M. Johnson of New York amending the report of the National Campaign Committee was concurred in.

Motion by S. Sterioff of the Bulgarian Federation that the previous motion be reconsidered. Motion carried.

On reconsideration, the report of the National Campaign Committee was accepted as presented.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions recommended to the convention that the following resolutions be adopted:

1—On motion by W. Woodhouse of Ohio, and seconded by J. Yanneli of New Jersey, that the resolution on Collapse of Capitalism be concurred in. Motion carried. (See Appendix F.)

2—On motion by T. Gramaticoff of the Bulgarian Federation, and seconded by V. L. Reynolds of New York, that the resolution on Capitalist Corruption and Decay be concurred in with the suggested corrections. Motion carried. (See Appendix G.)

3—On motion by P. E. De Lee of New York, and seconded by P. Herzel of New York, that resolution on Unemployment be concurred in

with the suggested corrections by V. L. Reynolds of New York. Motion carried. (See Appendix E.)

Motion by W. Woodhouse of Ohio that the resolutions on the Mooney case and the Saralief case be referred to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions. Motion carried.

Motion by W. Woodhouse of Ohio to adjourn at 12.10 p.m. Motion carried.

Afternoon Session, Monday, May 2.

Convention called to order at 2.15 p.m.

The roll call was taken. J. Mackay of the Hungarian Federation was absent.

The minutes were read. The chairman declared the minutes approved as read.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions continued its report, recommending the adoption of the following resolutions:

Motion by Theo. Gramaticoff of the Bulgarian Federation, and seconded by P. E. De Lee of New York, that the resolution on the International Situation be concurred in. Motion carried. (See Appendix H.)

A telegram of greetings from the South Slavonian Federation, Steubenville Branch, per G. Kuchen, sending \$40, was received.

Motion by W. Woodhouse of Ohio, seconded by V. L. Reynolds of New York, that the Resolution on Future Wars be concurred in with the suggested correction by A. M. Gully of Connecticut. Motion carried. (See Appendix I.)

Motion by A. M. Gully of Connecticut that the resolution on In-

dustrial Feudalism be adopted as modified. Motion carried.

Motion by V. L. Reynolds of New York that the resolution on the Mooney case be adopted as read. Motion carried. (See Appendix J.)

Motion by W. W. Cox of Missouri that the resolution on the Saralief case be adopted as read. Motion carried. (See Appendix K.)

The report of the Committee on International Socialist Movement was read and amended.

Motion by A. M. Gully of Connecticut that the report be adopted. Motion carried. (See Appendix C.)

The report of the Committee on Party Press and Literature was accepted as read.

NEW BUSINESS.

Motion by W. W. Cox of Missouri that the convention authorize the chairman and the secretary to certify that our presidential candidate is Verne L. Reynolds of New York, and that our vice presidential candidate is John W. Aiken of Massachusetts.

F. Zermann of the Hungarian Federation was excused at 4.15 p.m.

Motion by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that a recess of ten minutes be declared at 4.20 p.m.

Convention called to order at 4.52 p.m.

Motion by W. Beckwith of Pennsylvania, and seconded by F. N. H. Lang of Maryland, that the report of each unit of representation be limited to five minutes. Motion carried.

Motion of F. N. H. Lang of Maryland that the hour of adjournment be set for not later than 6 p.m. Motion carried.

Roll call of delegates for their

reports on the conditions in their localities. The following delegates reported:

R. W. Stevens for California.
A. M. Gully for Connecticut.
Frank Schnur for Illinois.
Charles Lynch for Indiana.
A. Schmutz for Kentucky.
F. N. H. Lang for Maryland.
J. W. Aiken for Massachusetts.
R. A. O'Brien for Michigan.
W. Foy for Minnesota.
W. W. Cox for Missouri.
J. Yannerelli for New Jersey.
P. E. De Lee for New York.
W. Woodhouse for Ohio.
W. Beckwith for Pennsylvania.

C. F. Bishop for Rhode Island.
J. Ehrhardt for Wisconsin.

Motion by W. Beckwith of Pennsylvania for a recess of five minutes for the completion of the minutes of the convention.

Convention called to order at 6.20 p.m.

The minutes of the 18th convention were read and accepted as read.

Adjournment at 6.40 p.m.

Fraternally submitted,

Ward Beckwith,

Recording Secretary.

Mildred Tolley Wilkenfeldt,
Ass't. Recording Secretary.

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTION

Introduction.

Greetings:

In 1928 the National Executive Committee in its report to the 17th National Convention stated:

"The capitalist system of production has again completed one of its cycles with the usual results: unemployment and widespread misery, slashing of wages where partial employment prevails, and an economic depression that promises to send a host of middle-layer capitalist concerns to the wall."

A little more than a year later the collapse came. Capitalism had indeed completed one of its cycles, although few people outside the S. L.

P. had any inkling of the fact. And on the basis of present conditions, and the apparently hopeless deadlock into which the system has fallen, it seems no exaggeration to say that there is no likelihood that capitalism will ever enter another cycle. By all indications it has entered on the last stage of its existence, the death-rattle can be plainly heard, and the end may be at hand sooner than even we expect. Still, it is dangerous to be too dogmatic on this point, for while it is permissible to make comparisons between social and biological organisms, the analogy may be carried too far. For a social system does not merely depend on certain definite economic

factors for its existence—these are certainly fundamental, and condition the rest. But it also depends upon the capacity and willingness on the part of the human element to suffer, even when the social fabric is collapsing over the head of humanity.

While the Marxian scientist in 1928 could point to the early collapse of what was mockingly called the permanent prosperity era of capitalism, the upholders of the system either could not see the handwriting on the wall, or if they could see it, they found it wisest to say nothing and pretend that all was well. Much was said in 1928 about the injection of the religious question, and its being responsible for the defeat of the second of the three or four capitalist candidates. This is pure nonsense. The religious issue is a dead issue. Here and there it may sway a few individuals, but on the whole it is of no effect. Politics in the garb of religion is, of course, another matter, but that is a feature which is not understood, and therefore does not interest the masses. *The economic question, that is the issue, and was the issue in 1928 as it is today.* The Republican party, on the whole, represents top-capitalism, and since political power reflects economic power it is logical to expect the continuance of political power in the hands of the direct representatives of top-capitalism. And though "accidents" may happen, they do not materially affect top-capitalism, except that it must move with a trifle more circumspection, and put up with a few extra annoyances. The mass of the voters are wage workers, or dependents on wage workers, and the threat of the

top-capitalist to shut down his factories if undesirable politicians are elected is ever potent. For to the average wage worker the "boss" is all-powerful, and in special cases they know that the threat has been made good. Hence, when Hoover practically ignored his opponent, and merely contented himself with declaring that prosperity depended on the election of himself, he knew precisely what he was doing. "A chicken in every pot," "A car in every garage," "Silk stockings on every shop girl"—these were the "convincing" arguments advanced, and they won the election for Hoover. Blindly the mass of the workers voted into power the agents of the exploiting class, in the fatuous belief that by so doing, their prosperity was assured.

The crash came, and all the forecasts of the Marxian scientists received their confirmation. Instead of a chicken in every pot, millions of proletarians are starving and dying a slow death. For no matter what the medical certificate may say, starvation is the cause. Instead of a car in every garage, there have been vacancies in thousands of garages, while households in general are being stripped of one thing after another in order to secure a few pennies to prolong a miserable existence. The cry of prosperity has become a cry of mockery on the lips of millions, and for the first time in its history, capitalism in this country is facing a national election with no slogan of economic potency. What the immediate result of this may be, is not difficult to forecast. When in Great Britain the top-capitalist class faced a similar situation (a situation as serious then to British capitalism

as the present one is to American capitalism, though it was far less menacing than is the present one to world capitalism), it was decided to pass political "victory" to "Labor," and twice the decoy duck Ramsay MacDonald served the purpose for which he was picked. It is significant that at present little, if any, attention is being paid to the Republican convention or Republican candidates. Practically all attention is centered on the Democratic candidates. The reason is plain. If top-capitalism must forego nominal political power, it is essential that that power be secured through the election of a suitable candidate from the party or parties that may be likely to succeed the Republican party. And to top-capitalism (ever realistic in such matters) it will not matter greatly whether a Franklin Roosevelt, a Newton Baker or any other like these two, is elected. For, willy-nilly, they will heed the master's voice, whatever may be their particular predilections in special, but relatively unimportant, matters. And it is not to be forgotten that even more "radical" possibilities are being considered. To the keen observer it is as plain as the nose on one's face that a Norman Thomas will be quite acceptable, and that this gentleman is being groomed to fill the role of a MacDonald if the need should arise—as, from the viewpoint of top-capitalism is very apt to happen—is perfectly clear. For he fills the front, or important inside pages of capitalist newspapers, and the point is constantly made that he is a reasonable fellow, really not such a bad one at all. Shrewdly the capitalist class appraises the situation, and selects its

servants. It recalls the observation made by Marx to Bebel in London: "Indeed," said Marx, "things would be different here, were not the British capitalists so peskily shrewd: they deaden the labor movement by corrupting its leaders." Your twentieth century capitalist has improved on this method; now he merely takes one of his "liberals," labels him "labor," or "Socialist," or even "Communist," and parades him up and down the political arena, never doubting (and with perfectly good reason) that the fraud will work, and the imposter will perform as per capitalist schedule. Indeed, what Mr. Thomas proposes is just what is needed in order to save the system, if that were possible. "Enlightened Capitalism," or "New Capitalism" is what they generally call it. Even as this is written a Boston capitalist, Edward A. Filene, speaking before the Foreign Policy Association, is reported as advocating the very things which fill the reform platforms of the S. P. and the Anarcho-Communists. "Increase buying power of the masses," "Fight on graft," "Unemployment Insurance," "Shorter working hours" — these and other planks are recognized as essential if "New Capitalism" is to survive. And in the following quotation this capitalist is using language which it will be impossible to distinguish from that employed by the Thomases:

"Under conditions [i.e., the proposed reforms] such as these [says Mr. Filene] which are basic to the success of this era of the new capitalism, the lessons of history make it clear that evolution will be a far quicker and safer road to justice

and happiness and prosperity than revolution will."

The lessons of history teach us many things, among them being that in times of stress a ruling class will throw sops galore to the revolutionary class in the hope of postponing its impending doom as a ruling class. And they teach us further that when a revolutionary class is counselled to depend on evolution rather than revolution, the hour of revolution is at hand. And not all the powers of reaction (be they labelled capitalists, Social Democrats, Liberals or what not) can save the social system which economic law has doomed. "History is the judge; its executioner, the proletariat." (Marx.)

National Campaign of 1928.

The Socialist Labor Party campaign of 1928 was conducted with vigor and enthusiasm. Yet, at the very outset a terrible blow was struck at the Party. Only a week after the close of the convention, the comrade who had been honored with the presidential nomination lost his life in a futile attempt at rescuing a drowning lad. The blow was terrible, not only because the hero happened to be our presidential candidate, but because he was Frank T. Johns. We know that Johns was one of those rarest of personalities who make their presence in a movement felt, not by glamorous and brilliant exploits, but by that persistent and loyal devotion to principle, that single-minded pursuit of the goal which in the end insures success of the movement. He was utterly without affectation, devoid of vanity, patient and forbearing except where principles became involved. On

these he was as intolerant as the Party itself. To those who go forth preaching impostures to the workers, he answered with Dante: "Give them truth to build on!" His character was fashioned of the finest timber, resistant in a world of temptations and a thousand snares. In the depth of his nature, the breadth of his vision, and the towering height of his social ideal, he personified the very movement to which he had given the best years of his still young manhood, and to which—had he been spared—he would have brought still greater honor and distinction. It is difficult to speak with restraint in contemplation of such a personality, above all when tragedy surmounts its career, and when that tragedy reacts so adversely on the Party we all mean to serve. While there is a Socialist Labor Party, yes, even when our Party has merged its being with the great Commonwealth of Labor, his memory will remain green.

Like the good revolutionary soldier that he is, Comrade Verne L. Reynolds, who had been nominated for the vice-presidency, stepped into Johns's place, and carried on the battle with distinction and great effectiveness. Untiringly, not sparing himself despite a not over-strong physique, Comrade Reynolds traversed the country, expounding the Party's principles with great clarity and in that popular manner which is all his own. For a few months Comrade J. D. Crowley, vice-presidential candidate, was toured in the eastern states, delivering the S. L. P. message convincingly and with ability. Like Reynolds, Comrade John P. Quinn toured the country, doing excellent work, and setting an

example to the members everywhere by his intense and devoted activity for the Party. Additional speakers and organizers worked locally and in selected territories. For further details the report of the National Secretary to the N. E. C. in 1929 may be consulted.

Other Party Activities.

Since 1928 (with but brief intervals of rest) Comrade John P. Quinn has been on the road as national organizer. From coast to coast, up and down the country, Quinn has worked as few other S. L. P. organizers ever worked. That his work has borne fruit goes without saying. Immediately following the convention he will resume his activities which he interrupted a few months ago in order to secure a much needed rest, and to prepare new material for agitation speeches. It is hoped that we may be able to keep him on the road indefinitely. Inspiring as it is to work exclusively for the S. L. P. and its fact-tested principles, it is, of course, at times wearing and wearisome to travel around, nomad-like, and it would be strange if Comrade Quinn, like others who for years have borne the brunt of battle in the S. L. P., at times did not cherish the thought of retirement. We must convince him that so long as he possesses the strength, he must continue the work which no one else can do quite so well. It is important, however, that the National Organizer Fund be much better supported by the membership in general than has been the case in the past. Had it not been for the magnificent contribution of \$5,000 from the Bulgarian Federa-

tion, it would have been impossible to continue Comrade Quinn as long as we did. And not only would it have been necessary to discontinue Comrade Quinn on the road, but it would have been utterly impossible to tour those other comrades who from time to time were sent on shorter tours. The moral is: Support the National Organizer Fund, or you will have no National Organizer. We have all ceased to believe in miracles, and should expect none.

As intimated, other organizers have been employed from time to time in different parts of the country, notably Comrades O'Neill, Hass and J. P. Campbell. Among our younger organizers Comrade Hass looms up promisingly. He combines two qualities not always found in one person, energy and studiousness. If he continues as he has done since he joined the Party a few years ago, he should give a good account of himself. It goes without saying that if he is available he will be among the corps of organizers to be toured this campaign.

Shorter tours have been arranged on occasions for Comrade Reynolds, who was also employed as special organizer in Detroit for a number of months. Comrades K. and V. Kneidler, Aaron Orange and Sidney Rosenberg have recently returned from a short trip which they undertook at their own expense, and excellent meetings were held. Adolph Orange has toured New York State (and Toronto) once or twice. Comrade A. J. Taylor went on a six or seven weeks' lecture trip, delivering his lecture series on "The Geology of Social Science" in Louisville, Cincinnati and Columbus, delivering a lecture each week in each place. On

this tour he also delivered lectures in St. Louis, Dayton and other nearby places. It can be said without exaggeration that there has been greater and better all around S.L.P. activity during the last four-year period than during any other period within memory. This activity must increase more and more, and the Industrial Union idea must be planted among the workers without abatement. As De Leon said: "No political party deserves the name of Socialist in America that does not understand its duty and mission to be the urging into life and recruiting of the classconscious union, in other words, the preaching of the Social Revolution upon the civilized field of political action." The Party is ever alert for opportunities, ever watchful for any real sign of possibilities for industrial organization—in fact, the Party reacts as naturally to such opportunities as a living organism reacts to its natural environment. For in the materialization of the Industrial Union idea the S. L. P. finds its crowning triumph.

Here and there are lone outposts—S. L. P. men who carry on without benefit of a Section or fellow members. Among these special mention should be made of Comrade J. Durych of Tacoma, Wash. A small Section existed in Tacoma for years, but it was not only numerically weak, but also weak on understanding of S. L. P. principles. One or two of the loyal comrades left, and the rest went the way of all flesh—that is, they succumbed to temptations or grew tired and confused. For some time Comrade Durych was the only survivor, but thanks chiefly to his indefatigable efforts there are

now prospects of getting a Section reconstituted in Tacoma. In order to show what one man can do, the following "report" received from Comrade Durych is submitted:

(Extract from letter from Comrade J. Durych, dated Dec. 16, 1931.)

"Summarizing the activity in Tacoma for the year 1931, made possible through the cooperation with Seattle comrades, the following has been done: Approximately 7,000 leaflets and close to 200 copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE distributed; 9 indoor and 1 outdoor meetings held; 13 letters sent to the Tacoma Times and 3 letters to the Tacoma Labor Advocate, letters of agitational nature, written with the aim to broadcast the program of the S. L. P.; with the exception of only one letter, all the rest have been printed, most of them unabridged. Study class started Sunday, December 13, seven attending.

"As to the result of this activity, it has not been what it could have been. The attendance slightly decreased the last few months, the peak having been reached during Comrade Quinn's visit. However, in comparison with Seattle, a much larger city, Tacoma shows well.

"Two ex-members showed up at our last meeting. Have heard from Seattle comrades that Sargent, the former N. E. C. member, expressed himself as ashamed of having left the Party."

The following extracts from a letter to the National Secretary are reproduced here, partly because of the fine spirit revealed, and also because of the very clear statement concerning Industrial Union propaganda:

"Wish I had more leaflets, at least 4,000, to be distributed up to the time of our National Convention. But, as things are, the burden lies entirely upon Seattle comrades, since I cannot contribute anything financially. It would be lamentable to suspend the S. L. P. activity in Tacoma, first, on account of what little has already been done and, secondly, on account of the campaign just ahead. When distributing (leaflets) handbills I enclose leaflets. Thus, the combination of newspaper articles, leaflets and of meetings merge to advertise the Party with gathered force.

"Have never met with such unanimously favored comment concerning the program of the S. L. P., as while distributing S. L. P. handbills and leaflets one week ago. The willingness to concede the correctness of the S. L. P. program is striking, when compared with the apathy and indifference of the workers a few years back. There are some who disagree: knavish hypocrites, anarchists and a few old-timers, who cannot grasp the evolution of political capitalism into the non-political Industrial Socialist Commonwealth. Also, there are some youngsters, who had their brains dug out and whose misconceptions and prejudices the broom of experience has not as yet had a chance to sweep out. It seems to me, the workers are awaiting the proper impulse to break their inertia and to swing them on the road to Industrial Administration of production.

"Barring the final economic or political move on the part of the ruling class to force the issue, wherefrom is the constructive impulse to emanate if not from the S. L. P.?

Crisis has undoubtedly hit the S. L. P. hard. Still, no other body but the S. L. P. can impart a constructive impulse. What is ahead of us if we do not succeed? Industrial peonage, intellectual emasculation and moral knavery. The obligation is fully upon the S. L. P. to propagate, to sow the seed of Industrial Unionism, so that the harvest of Industrial Government in the hands of the workers can be gathered in the ripeness of time.

"From many sides inquiries flow to the WEEKLY PEOPLE Editor's desk concerning the building up of the Industrial Union. If all these inquirers are sincere, they will realize that before Industrial Unionism, a movement embracing the whole working class, can crystallize into its concrete form, its crystallization in the consciousness of the workers must first take place. The whole energy of the S. L. P. is exerted to accomplish this task. Whoever desires the materialization of the Industrial Unionism movement, will throw his full effort and endeavor in with the S. L. P., that labors unceasingly toward this end. It would be a criminal folly to go again through the painful experience of the early I. W. W. We do not want history to repeat itself. To talk of Industrial Unionism today and to ignore or neglect the support of the S. L. P. is more than ignorance; it is downright betrayal."

During the last two months Comrade Durych has been employed a day a week in order to enable him to devote more time to Party work. "A day a week" is purely nominal; it means here simply that Comrade Durych is paid \$5 per week, but a

day a week is not the limit of his activities. Comrades elsewhere similarly situated should take a leaf out of Comrade Durych's book of experience. They would probably surprise themselves by the results of their individual efforts — efforts which, with due respect to organized efforts, are frequently undervalued.

The following report has been received from Comrade Quinn, covering his activities for the last period:

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"Below is a brief report covering some activities while on the road for the Party.

"Nearly four years ago, my tour in the interest of the Party started with a street meeting in the little town of San Bernardino, Calif. From there we continued north through the three Pacific Coast states, visiting nearly every city and town of importance, then across the far Northwest into Minnesota, through the Middle West, and on to New York. In addition, we made another complete round trip to the Pacific Coast, and back again as far east as Boston, to say nothing of the innumerable number of times we criss-crossed the Middle West and East, traveling some 15,000 miles a year, and speaking in most of the big cities, at least in all of them where we have connections.

"The burden of financing such widespread activities has been great, and it is all the more remarkable that a comparatively small organization, amidst its numerous other activities, could keep an organizer in the field for so great and continuous a length of time, not to speak of putting other speakers on tour from

time to time. Such a feat is possible only by a membership inspired with a great program, and imbued with a spirit of determination to overcome difficulties. When an S. L. P. man contributes, he does so for the furthering of a great cause, and he is conscious of receiving more in return, in training and understanding, and a confident facing of the future than can be possibly compensated for in either money or effort. That feeling has sunk deeply into the consciousness of our Party's supporters, and I encounter it wherever we have any connections. It speaks eloquently of the kind of material with which the revolutionary movement is being built.

"Whether in the big industrial centers of the East, or out on the little farm to the North, or to the South, or in the lumber towns of the far West, wherever S. L. P. men are, there will be found thinking, well-posted, disciplined individuals — potential builders of a new society.

"During the past four years I have seen a steady increase in interest in our message, and an equally steady increase in attendance at both our hall and street meetings. The workers everywhere lend a more willing ear, and week after week it is possible to get an increasing proportion of the same audience into our hall meetings. Either in halls or at open air meetings the workers eagerly listen, and accept our literature to read. The scoffers at Socialism are not quite so numerous as they used to be, and there is a noticeable number of people who are becoming quite reconciled to the idea of Revolution. In a small western town in 1928 we had a number of

open air meetings, then decided to arrange for a lecture in a centrally located hall. Through the efforts of advertising in the local paper and at the street meetings, we were able to get into the hall just twenty-five persons. Again in 1931, being in the same town, and without having had any open air meetings to help advertise, another hall meeting was arranged, but this time, unlike two years previous, we had an attendance of 275 people at the hall lecture. The next night another lecture was delivered before an audience of 325, and each night there was a literature sale of well over \$8. These were by no means large meetings, not even for that little town, but it is interesting to note the comparison between the sizes of the meetings held just two years apart.

"The literature sales last year show a healthy increase on an average of \$4 a month, but the contributions to the Organizer Fund have decreased on an average of \$6.90 a month. That can be attributed to the fact that so many of our members are out of work and the collection that previously went to this fund, now must be used to pay hall rent, printing, etc. The collections on the average have been just as generous as before, but now there are additional uses to which the collections must be put.

"Last summer we had a series of excellent open air meetings in parks in Detroit. In point of attendance, the meetings were bigger than any street meetings I had ever had in that city on previous occasions; while the attention given our message was encouraging. Despite the great amount of unemployment there, both literature sales and contribu-

tions were very good. Efforts should be made to keep an organizer steadily employed in Detroit and nearby territory; industrial conditions there are stirring the workers deeply. After two months' work in the Detroit district, we were off on tour again through the Middle West, and as far south as Louisville, Ky., then east to New England. In practically every place visited, there seemed to be a renewed interest in the Party, with an increased activity on the part of the Sections and members. In anticipation of meetings productive of good results for the movement, a warmer greeting awaits the organizer's arrival these days. The demand is ever increasing for organizers.

"Police interference with our right to hold meetings on the public streets seems to be increasing. In many places where such speaking is not prevented, there is often an attempt made to restrict such speaking to the parts of the town that are frequented by the 'down and outs.' In some cities, street speaking is entirely prohibited, even in the slum sections. Last summer every political organization was ruled off the streets in the city of Detroit, that is, meetings were not permitted on them. Comrade O'Neill and I called on the Commissioner of Police to protest against this unwarranted abuse of police power. We told him that we had a constitutional right to free speech in the public streets. Commissioner Watkins's reply was: 'Possibly you have a constitutional right to the use of the streets for meetings; while I am a lawyer, still I am not sure of that. However, these are unusual times and it is dangerous to have crowds gathered

in the streets in one place. Trouble may start there, store windows are likely to be broken and things stolen from the stores or property destroyed.' Continuing, Mr. Watkins said, some months ago a group gathered in front of a jewelry store, the window of which was broken, and someone stole a piece of jewelry valued at thousands of dollars. We later apprehended the thief, but never recovered the jewelry. A troublesome crowd is difficult to handle on the streets without possible damage to property. We have decided that open air meetings will be held in the public parks, because there in the open space the police can handle the crowd more easily than in the streets, said the Police Commissioner. That is indeed plain talk that Mr. Watkins indulged in. It shows from an authoritative source that the police are more interested in protecting private property than in preserving the constitutional rights of workingmen and will even violate constitutional rights if that seems desirable. In Detroit we were enabled to select parks out of those set aside for open air meetings, that proved to be better places to have such meetings, than were the streets which we formerly had used for this purpose. Of course, this was no credit to the Detroit police, for they restricted the holding of meetings to such places as they could best control the crowds in. In some other cities, too, I have encountered police interference with our right to hold meetings.

"We are on the eve of a great campaign. Our Party advances to it, united, confident and eager for the contest. With an active, informed membership, and the coun-

try confronted with economic conditions verging on a complete breakdown that is stirring the workers as never before, the future of the S. L. P. looms brighter and more alluring than ever. In this campaign, millions of leaflets will be distributed. May I say that I think more discrimination in the distribution of leaflets ought to be made than perhaps has been the case in the past? It is useless to put our literature into the hands of persons whose spirit has been utterly crushed, and who yawn on park benches, cynical, sullen and in hopeless despair that anything will ever be done either by the workers or for them. Then, there is that type that lends itself a ready victim of the fakers of the various 'Bug House Squares,' or that element whose social vision is circumscribed by the boundaries of a soup bowl. These unfortunates are largely unthinking and unreasoning, usually incapable of either. Naturally enough, they are the recruiting material of the Communist party. Let the Communists, and later the avowed counter-revolution have them. They are useless to the S. L. P. Of course, it is not assumed that merely because a workingman is found in these places, that he must of necessity be useless. There is no doubt some good material there. I am merely trying to emphasize the need of selecting the material to whom literature should be offered. It costs money and effort to get it into the readers' hands. Let's try to put it where it will do the most good.

"Let us seize the unexampled opportunity, now presented, to carry on a great educational campaign among the workers. Gloom pervades

the capitalist world, while ever brighter becomes the S. L. P. horizon.

"Fraternally yours,
"John P. Quinn."

Party Plant, Press and Literature.

I. PARTY PLANT.

Since the last convention the Party plant as a whole has lost certain revenues which have aggravated the financial situation to a considerable extent. Through the discontinuation of the *Arbetaren* the Party plant suffered a loss in income of roughly \$3,000 which, of course, had to be made up in increased contributions to the funds. We had hoped to be able to sublet the premises but found it impossible to do so, especially since the "depression" became acute. The question of renewing the lease on the present premises will receive attention at the regular N. E. C. session this year, and we are going to insist upon a considerable decrease in the annual rental. For obvious reasons it would not be desirable to move unless conditions should make that absolutely necessary.

A year ago the deficit on the plant which had not been covered by contributions was about \$5,600. This was roughly \$2,000 more than at the N. E. C. session in 1930. There was every indication that in another year this amount would increase to twice the amount of 1931, seeing that the conditions were getting worse with increasing unemployment among the members and sympathizers. The N. E. C. called upon the membership to increase the contributions to the Weekly People Guard by at least

\$3,000 more than the amount received for the preceding year, in order to prevent this deficit from getting larger. By the end of the summer it became clear that unless extraordinary steps were taken, the Party plant would be saddled with a deficit which in a short time might wipe out the National Office bank balance which, of course, had to be drawn upon temporarily in order to keep the plant going. Upon reviewing the situation, the N. E. C. Subcommittee decided to issue a call for a voluntary assessment to cover this deficit. Through this fund, coupled with other strenuous efforts, we have succeeded in actually reducing the deficit from \$5,600 to about \$5,200. Nominally, however, it may be said that we have just held our own.

It is, of course, important to maintain the Party plant against all odds for the reason that once the plant is given up there will be little prospect of having leaflets, pamphlets and books printed except in very limited quantities. Moreover, the machinery and equipment of the Party plant is of no value whatever if placed on the market, and since obviously this equipment cannot be stored, it means that if we give up our Party plant, the machinery will practically have to be scrapped. We certainly hope, and expect, to continue to operate the Party plant, but the membership must expect to be called upon repeatedly to help foot the deficit. The alternative would be too distressing to contemplate, apart from the fact that in the end we would have to pay many times more than the deficit if we were to continue to issue pamphlets and leaflets as at the present rate.

II. WEEKLY PEOPLE SALES.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE sales for the preceding four years were as follows:

April 1, 1928 to March	
31, 1929	\$9,354.80
April 1, 1929 to March	
31, 1930	\$8,166.21
April 1, 1930 to March	
31, 1931	\$8,878.68
April 1, 1931 to March	
31, 1932	\$9,361.30

The total for this four-year period is \$35,760.99. The previous four-year period (1925-28) shows the WEEKLY PEOPLE sales to be \$34,728.76, an increase of \$1,000 for the last period over the preceding four-year period. It may be said, however, that substantially the same average is maintained. Apparently the WEEKLY PEOPLE subscription list remains about the same year in and year out. Obviously this is not very encouraging. There is every reason to expect that the WEEKLY PEOPLE should increase its circulation, especially in these days when vast numbers are seeking for information and a solution to the difficulties and hardships which weigh down upon them. Yet, good times or bad times, it seems to be all one so far as the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE is concerned. Yet, whenever special efforts have been made it has been demonstrated again and again that subscriptions can be secured.

One of the important methods through which the WEEKLY PEOPLE circulation can be increased is to push its sale on newsstands. With but a few exceptions this method has proved successful and it seems as if it should be made compulsory

upon Sections everywhere to secure at least one bundle per week to place on one or more newsstands. If, however, the news dealer is not followed up in this matter he will either ignore the paper, or lose interest altogether in the matter, for at best there is but little profit in the small bundle that the Section would be likely to place on a newsstand.

Special efforts have been made by some Sections and State Committees in boosting the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE by mailing out sample copies and follow-up letters. The expense of doing this is very considerable, and so far there has been no marked indication of success, though success perhaps in this respect should not be measured exclusively by actual subscriptions secured, since possibly those who have received such sample copies and letters, etc., may have become interested in the Party's literature and may have attended meetings, etc. For all that, considering the expense, it is questionable whether at this time, and with our present facilities, this is the most effective method of securing an increased circulation.

A special method is being considered which, however, for lack of time has not yet received official consideration. The idea involves offering, say, \$1.00 or \$1.50 worth of New York Labor News literature to include a three months' subscription to the WEEKLY PEOPLE. It is also possible that whenever meetings are arranged at which an admission fee is charged, that such an admission might include a three-month subscription to the WEEKLY PEOPLE. These are suggestions, however, which need to be

carefully considered before being put into effect. It should, however, be clear that we cannot proceed along the present lines indefinitely. The circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE must be increased, for indeed it can be increased if those whose primary concern it should be to boost it (namely, the membership and the sympathizers) would take the matter in hand and sacrifice a trifle, both financially and in point of time, in order to introduce the WEEKLY PEOPLE in places where it is not now circulated.

The Weekly People Guard, which was designed to take care of the ever recurring deficit, has, as we know, fallen down on the job. It does seem strange that it becomes necessary every now and then to call for a special fund in order to prevent disaster, when it would be just as easy to maintain the special funds that are already in existence and which have been originally designed to safeguard the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Still, the human mind seems to adjust itself readily to routine, only that in this case the routine is largely neglected. Hence the need of placing special emphasis on the financial difficulties of the Party plant, and the need of arousing the members and sympathizers by special methods and new funds. As already stated, it became necessary to call for a special voluntary assessment which yielded roughly about \$4,500. Through the Weekly People Guard the amount of \$4,138 was secured and the amount of \$2,448 was raised through the Press Security Fund. The Thanksgiving Day affair of 1931 yielded the amount of \$1,859, which is the largest in years, and this despite the fact that it was

held at the height of the depression. It is true that it requires tremendous efforts and sacrifices on the part of comrades, both local as well as throughout the country, in order to make the affair a success. The excellent management of the affair naturally contributes to the very gratifying results, and it is to be hoped that the comrades will continue to support this magnificent undertaking which is not only a source of revenue to the WEEKLY PEOPLE, but also a source of much pleasure to those who attend these affairs. The total received from the Thanksgiving Day affairs for the four-year period just ended is somewhat over \$7,200.

In 1928 we initiated the sale of S. L. P. Christmas Seals. The first year the sale of these seals yielded \$1,500. Next year the sales dropped to about \$1,300, and the sale of 1931 seals yielded a little over \$1,000, or approximately \$3,800 for the three years.

The annual Christmas Box of 1931 brought in approximately \$300. For the four years the proceeds from the Christmas Box amounted to about \$1,300.

The Press Security League (which includes the Weekly People Guard) yielded the following results:

April 1, 1928 to March	
31, 1929	\$5,313
April 1, 1929 to March	
31, 1930	\$10,958
April 1, 1930 to March	
31, 1931	\$8,737
April 1, 1931 to March	
31, 1932	\$6,515

Or a total of approximately \$31,523 for the four-year period.

Other methods for securing the funds needed to publish the WEEKLY PEOPLE and to carry on activities at Party headquarters are found through the arranging of entertainments both by Sections as well as Federations. These entertainments are not always the success that they might be, partly due to the uncertainty of the weather, and partly due to mistakes or miscalculations. The following gives the approximate figures for the last four years as contributed by Sections, Federations and through miscellaneous groups:

In 1928-1929: Sections, \$285; Federations, \$546; total, \$831.

In 1929-1930: Sections, \$913; Federations, \$1,419; miscellaneous, \$588; total, \$2,920.

In 1930-1931: Sections, \$606; Federations, \$1,100; total, \$1,706.

In 1931-1932: Sections \$530; Federations, \$600; miscellaneous, \$220; total, \$1,350.

Or a total of approximately \$6,800.

The total proceeds from all funds for the four-year period were as follows:

In 1928-1929: \$8,984.

In 1929-1930: \$14,631.

In 1930-1931: \$12,068.

In 1931-1932: \$14,290.

Or a total for the four-year period of close to \$50,000.

This is an imposing showing and certainly reflects credit on the members and sympathizers who have made it possible through the sacrifices they have made to continue the WEEKLY PEOPLE through what probably have been the four most difficult years of its existence.

III. LABOR NEWS COMPANY SALES AND ACTIVITIES.

The last four-year period shows the following Labor News sales:

April 1, 1928 to March	
31, 1929	\$3,026.42
April 1, 1929 to March	
31, 1930	\$2,383.95
April 1, 1930 to March	
31, 1931	\$5,049.52
April 1, 1931 to March	
31, 1932	\$4,268.75

While this indicates a falling off in the sales of Labor News publications, they are, however, substantially the same as the year before for the reason that in the period of 1930-31 there was included a sale of leaflets to the N. E. C. amounting to \$951, whereas during the year just closed the number of leaflets sold to the N. E. C. was only \$336. The falling off of the sale of these leaflets was due not so much to a slackened demand on the part of the Sections for leaflets, as it was due to the inability of the National Office to furnish leaflets as freely as had been done before. It would have been comparatively easy to have "sold" as many or more leaflets to the N. E. C. for free distribution to the Sections during the last year as it was during the preceding years. The difference between the sales of leaflets to the N. E. C. during the last year as compared with the year before is about \$614. If the leaflet sales had been the same as the year before the total of Labor News sales would have been practically the same.

Generally speaking, it can be said that there is a greater demand for S. L. P. literature now than ever before, if we exclude a brief period

following the Russian Revolution. Considering the difficulty with which money is obtained, and the unwillingness with which workers in general part with funds nowadays, the Labor News sales must be considered gratifying indeed. A total sales of S. L. P. books and pamphlets of close to \$15,000 for four years is, in fact, quite an amount of literature to sell, although we know that it will be as a drop in the bucket compared to what it will be when the working class starts moving.

During the last year the following pamphlets have been published:

"Crises in European History,"	
Bang, 56pp.	2,000
"Daniel De Leon," Petersen,	
48pp.	2,000
"Development of Socialism from	
Utopia to Science," Engels,	
32pp.	1,000
"Daniel De Leon," Rasky,	
40pp.	2,000
"Economic Basis of Education,"	
Aaron Orange, 32pp.	2,000
"The Gotha Program,"	
Marx, 64pp.	1,000
"Marxism vs. Anti-Marxism,"	
Petersen, 32pp.	2,000
"Party Ownership of the	
Press," 32pp.	1,000
"Proletarian Democracy,"	
Petersen, 64pp.	2,000
"Revolutionary Milestones,"	
Petersen, 32pp.	2,000
"The Socialist Labor Party"	
(from "Forty Years"),	
Kuhn and Johnson, 128pp.	2,000
"Revolutionary Socialism in	
U. S. Congress," De Leon,	
112pp.	2,000
"Socialism," Holmes, 32pp.	1,000
"Two Pages from Roman His-	
tory," De Leon, 96pp.	2,000

"Unemployment" (Arm and	
Hammer No. 11), 32pp.	9,450
"Virus of Anarchy," 32pp.	2,000

This represents a total of over 35,000 booklets varying in size from 32 pages to 128 pages. A good many of these titles are new ones, dealing either with historical aspects of the movement, or with tactical questions in relation to other groups and to the ideas and slogans projected by the Russian Revolution.

The following leaflets have been printed during the last year:

"Anarcho-Communism"	35,000
"Capitalism on Trial"	45,000
"The Government of the	
Future"	55,000
"Industrial Unionism"	20,000
"The Industrial Union"	55,000
"Machines—Whither Bound"	20,000
"The Machine and Unemploy-	
ment"	50,000
"National Platform of the	
Socialist Labor Party"	30,000
"The Socialist Labor Party vs.	
the Socialist Party"	14,000
"Unemployment"	20,000
"What Is Capitalism"	45,000
"What Is Socialism" (old)	20,000
"What Is Socialism" (new)	55,000
"Whither Society"	45,000

Most of these leaflets are new and up to date and, as already pointed out, they have been in great demand. During the last four-year period we have printed a total of 2,942,500 leaflets, or close to 3,000,000 leaflets.

In addition to these pamphlets and leaflets we have printed 1,500 copies of the marching song of the proletariat, "The International."

Several new pamphlets are in preparation, one of which will prob-

ably be ready by the time this convention takes place. It is entitled "Marxian Science and the Colleges." It is a pamphlet of about 96 pages and comprises the series of open letters by De Leon and a number of splendid editorials specifically dealing with universities and the stupidities or intellectual crookedness of college professors in general, and some which are specifically named by De Leon. We expect a considerable sale of this pamphlet for, after all, even among the students at the universities, there is today fermentation as everywhere else, and it must be assumed that among these students there are a considerable number who are willing to learn something about the science of Marxism, and on this point none can better De Leon's instruction.

We are also working hard on some of the De Leon editorials, and if time had permitted it we would have had one volume ready by this time, namely, the one to contain the "Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan Dialogues." It is hoped, however, that they will be ready during the summer or early in the fall so that we may have a supply by the time De Leon's birthday again comes around. Several other pamphlets are in contemplation or in actual preparation. Among the new publications projected is the Lecture Series of Comrade A. J. Taylor, entitled "Origin and Development of Society." It had been our hope that this book would have been published by this time, but lack of funds and time have so far prevented it. Our compositor has volunteered to do the composition free, and with that item out of the way and time permitting,

it should be only a matter of a short time before we are able to offer this book for sale. We feel that this work constitutes an important contribution to the literature of Marxism, or, if it may be so put, of Morgan-Marxism.

We are also preparing to issue a new descriptive catalogue which will be in the form of a pamphlet of some 48 or 64 pages. It will contain a brief description of each title, and it is intended to furnish this catalogue with an introduction which should serve as a study course outline for beginners. There is a great need of such a publication. It is calculated that with such a catalogue available to the student and others interested in the S.L.P. movement, the sale of our pamphlets should be considerably stimulated. Such a catalogue will therefore not merely be a dry recital of titles, but will in effect be a propaganda and educational pamphlet in its own right.

Sue's "Mysteries of the People" are now again out of print, with no hope of our being able to reprint within a time that we can now estimate. To reprint a small quantity of the Sue books would require an outlay of from \$1,500 to \$2,000, depending upon the number of copies printed and bound. Repeatedly requests are received for a cheaper edition of the Sue books. Understandable as these requests are, they are, of course, based upon a total misconception as to the cost of publishing such a work. In the limited editions that we can issue, and even on our own press, the price that we have fixed is dangerously low. If we were in a position to spend, say, \$25,000 or \$50,000 on advertising,

and print an edition of, say, fifty or a hundred thousand sets, it is reasonable to suppose that we should be able to get the price per set down to about one-fourth or so of what it now is. In the present circumstances, however, it is utterly impossible to get out a cheaper edition. If the labor movement in this country had been developed along the lines of the European movements (defective as these movements may be in other respects) the demand for this set would probably have been insistent enough to have made it possible to arrange with a larger publishing house to issue a special edition under our copyright. If we ourselves do not develop the facilities for printing such a large edition, it is possible that, with the increase in the revolutionary sentiment and understanding of what the Socialist movement represents, such an arrangement may yet be made, but at the present moment, at least, it must be placed among the other ardent wishes and desires, to be materialized some time in the future.

There are two other publications for which there is considerable demand, and which demand cannot be satisfied. These publications are Morgan's "Ancient Society," and Marx's "Capital." Morgan's "Ancient Society" is now unobtainable in any edition, and we suspect that the reason it is not reprinted any more is because the plates have worn out. Recent editions printed from the old plates gave indication of that. As to Marx's "Capital," there is, as you know, no satisfactory edition obtainable, although more than one edition is now on the market. The Kerr edition has never been entirely satis-

factory to the S. L. P. The reason is mainly the fact that that edition is edited by the notorious S. P. politician, Ernest Untermann. As De Leon once put it in a Letter Box answer: "The reason why the Swan Sonnenschein and Company edition of 'Capital' is the one always referred to by the PEOPLE, is that that is the edition in this office, and the paging in other editions, which may otherwise be correct enough, may not tally with that of the S. S. & Co. Furthermore, the S. S. & Co. edition is known to be reliable. To ascertain whether other editions have, or have not 'amended Marx,' a la Spargo, would require a careful and systematic comparison for which we have no time." It is indeed a pity that at this moment of capitalist breakdown the world over no dependable edition of Marx's monumental work is obtainable. Efforts are made to secure second-hand copies of the Sonnenschein edition, but naturally they are scarce and very difficult to secure. S. L. P. editions of both "Capital" and "Ancient Society" should be on the market, and he who would contribute substantially toward this consummation so devoutly wished for, might justly lay claim to the everlasting gratitude of all true Marxian students and revolutionists.

With respect to the sale of Labor News pamphlets, it has been established that a great deal depends upon the manner in which they are offered for sale. At the lectures held by the Sections in Greater New York (and no doubt the same holds true with other Sections) a method is followed which has been productive of excellent results. Before the lecturer commences his talk, the

chairman presents five or six pamphlets which are considered to be particularly related to the subject of the talk by the lecturer. The chairman explains briefly the importance of each title and successively calls upon the committee to take the pamphlets through the audience and dispose of them. Linking these pamphlets up with the talk of the lecture usually adds to the inducement which results in sales. It is certain that this method has been a great success in Greater New York, and there is reason to believe that it would be equally successful everywhere if handled properly. After all, we must expect the average worker to approach the Socialist Labor Party as he would approach any other group since he does not know the first thing about the organization. The average worker is naturally reluctant to part with his hard earned money, but if a convincing talk on this literature is made, even the cautious worker will frequently invest a small amount in S. L. P. literature and, if he is made of the right stuff, it may be taken for granted that the sample will whet his appetite for more. As Comrade L. Cotton, the National Secretary of the British Socialist Labor Party, put it to a general conference held at Edinburgh recently, "We are not selling nearly the amount of literature we could do. That is shown by the demand coming from organizations that are opposed to us and who have done their best to kill the circulation of S. L. P. literature. It is one hopeful omen that these people, who have done their damndest to boycott our literature, are now compelled to come to us for it. *If they can sell it against their will,*

surely we, who have every interest in its circulation, can sell it if only we make the effort." This is putting it as strongly as logically it seems possible, for, as Comrade Cotton added on the same occasion, "we have the finest Socialist literature in the English-speaking world," and not only will the enemies of the Party eventually have to sell our literature if they continue to make any pretense of spreading Socialist propaganda in this country, but they will have to do it and like it too.

A schedule is herewith submitted showing the distribution of Labor News sales throughout the country for the year beginning with April 1, 1931, and ending March 31, 1932. As will be noted, New York leads with a sale of about \$1,600, or more than one-third of the total. Ohio, California, Illinois, Michigan follow in the order mentioned, with Connecticut, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania close on their heels. The record indicates of course, that the sale was most considerable in the industrial centers and that the South, and particularly the extreme South, practically did not figure in the sales at all.

New York	\$1,593.57
Ohio	581.04
California	280.71
Illinois	236.10
Michigan	225.39
Connecticut	199.77
Massachusetts	185.13
Pennsylvania	160.22
Minnesota	129.65
Maryland	107.89
New Jersey	104.12
Washington	88.53
Oregon	83.40
Indiana	73.33

Missouri	66.02
Wisconsin	63.29
Kentucky	41.25
Rhode Island	36.40
North Carolina	21.34
All others	108.89

Constitutional Amendments.

The following amendments to the Party's constitution are recommended:

ARTICLE II.

Section 5. This clause now reads as follows:

Should a protest be entered against the admission to a Section of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

It is proposed to amend by adding the following:

Applicants may be admitted to membership by a majority vote of those present at a regular Section meeting, but should a protest be entered against the admission to a Section of such applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote of all present at a regular business meeting shall be necessary to admit him.

COMMENT: There is not now in the constitution any specific clause covering the method of admitting a member except by inference.

It is proposed to add the following to Section 6 which now reads:

Sections shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

The section as amended should read:

Sections shall have jurisdiction over their own members. *Members of the*

Party must belong to the Section which has jurisdiction over the territory wherein they reside.

COMMENT: While the part which it is proposed to add covers a point which is implicit in any political organization, and especially a revolutionary, well-disciplined body such as the S. L. P., it is nevertheless thought desirable to make this addition, for the reason that here and there it has been found that members have joined a Section other than the one which had jurisdiction over the territory in which such a member resided. Usually when such a condition arises, it is the result of a member having moved out of another Section's territory, and possibly because of associations, or because of living nearer the Section out of whose territory the member has moved, but there have also been cases where a member has deliberately, and for reasons that the S. L. P. cannot possibly recognize, joined a Section other than the one he should belong to. It is also conceivable that in times of internal difficulties members of one Section might "colonize" another Section in order to affect results in that Section. What this would result in can be easily visualized. The presence of the proposed clause simplifies the handling of such matters and avoids unnecessary wrangling and arguments or possibly appeals.

Section 7. The clause now reads:

Every Section shall elect a standing Grievance Committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges and difficulties in the Section and report its decision.

It is proposed to amend this so

that the section would read as amended:

Every Section shall elect a standing Grievance Committee of three members, which shall investigate all charges referred to it, and report its decision to the Section.

COMMENT: The words "and difficulties in the Section" seem to be a survival of an earlier period. Nowadays the Grievance Committee has only one function, and that is to investigate charges preferred against a member. The Grievance Committee has nothing to do with any other difficulties that may arise within the Section. The words should therefore be eliminated. The additions indicated are self-explanatory.

Section 8. The clause now reads as follows:

All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual members preferring same, and charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section. The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay, hearing the witnesses of both sides. A detailed report of the investigation and the findings with the recommendations of the Committee shall be submitted to one of the next business meetings of the Section, the findings and recommendations to be voted on separately. The accused party shall be notified in due time by the secretary of the committee to appear at such meeting. The Section shall then decide the matter in executive session and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all

paper concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the Organizer for safe-keeping. The Organizer shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

It is proposed to amend this as follows:

All charges must be made in writing, signed by the individual members preferring same, and must be submitted first to the Section and then referred to the Grievance Committee. Charges against members shall not be debated until the Grievance Committee has thoroughly investigated them and reported to the Section. The Grievance Committee shall deliver a copy of the charges to the accused and shall proceed to investigate the case without unreasonable delay, hearing the witnesses of both sides. A detailed report of the investigation and the findings with the recommendations of the committee shall be submitted to one of the next business meetings of the Section. The findings and recommendations to be voted on separately. The accused party shall be notified in due time by the secretary of the committee to appear at such meeting. The Section shall then decide the matter in executive session and its decision be entered on the minutes. The minutes and all papers concerning the investigation shall be delivered to the Organizer, who thereupon forwards them to the National Office where they are to be kept in a special file. The Organizer shall inform the accused in writing of such decision.

COMMENT: There has been some confusion as to the proper procedure in the submission of charges. In one Section, for example, the one who preferred the charges handed them directly to the Grievance Committee without the formality of having them submitted and

read before the Section first. Obviously this ought to be guarded against. The second addition is suggested for the reason that it seems proper that all important documents referring to a case where a member has been expelled, should be on hand at the National Office for future reference. A member, for example, may have been expelled twenty or thirty years ago and later rejoin under false pretenses. It is then discovered that this member did join under false pretenses, but due to the lapse of years and inability to secure the records in the case, it would be almost impossible to establish the facts in the case, whereas if these documents were on file in the National Office they could be referred to without any trouble.

It is proposed to strike out present Section 14 which now reads as follows:

Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues, but the fact must be noted each month upon their cards by means of exemption stamps,

and it is proposed to substitute the following:

New Section 14. Sick or unemployed members, unable to pay dues, shall be granted exemption stamps upon request for same being made by such members to the subdivision having jurisdiction over them. A record of such exemption must be made in the minutes of the subdivision, and exemption stamps must be inserted in the card of the member exempted.

COMMENT: The present clause is antiquated and indefinite and needs to be amplified as proposed. There is a tendency on the part of

many members to withhold requests for exemption stamps even though they are entitled to them and it is possible that the very vagueness and indefinite nature of the present clause, is to some extent responsible for this unwillingness to ask for exemption stamps. Sections themselves should see to it that members are supplied with exemption stamps upon being made acquainted with the circumstances of the member who is in financial difficulties.

It is proposed to add a new Section 15 to read as follows:

Members who have been dropped for non-payment of dues cannot be readmitted except as provided in Section 5 of this Article.

COMMENT: There have been cases where a Section struck a member from its membership roll for non-payment of dues, but where the financial secretary subsequently accepted so-called "back dues" from such a member and reinstated his name on the roll without any further formality. Such a procedure is obviously improper. Once a member is dropped from the roll he is no more a member than if he had never joined in the first place, and no person can join a Section without submitting a formal application, and this procedure should be insisted upon in such cases as mentioned here. Section 5 referred to is the one that it is proposed to amend by making specific provision for procedure in admitting new members.

As a result of the adding of a new clause to be known as Section 15, it would be necessary, if this clause is adopted, to change the subsequent

clauses to 16, 17, etc., instead of 15, 16, etc.

It is proposed to add new Section 20 as follows:

Members residing in states where there are no Sections may become attached to the organization as national members-at-large, paying their dues direct to the National Office, and are to be subject to the jurisdiction of the N. E. C. All decisions rendered by the N. E. C. in disputes involving national members-at-large shall be final, but where a decision has been rendered by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, acting on behalf of the N. E. C., the latter may review the case, if it so chooses, as in the case of all other acts by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee.

COMMENT: There is now no clause in the constitution covering national membership-at-large, and this defect should be remedied. The insertion of such a clause is prompted largely by a question which arose at the N. E. C. Session in 1931, where an appeal had been submitted by a national member-at-large. It was contended that since no individual member of a Section has any standing whatever before the N. E. C., it would be a case of discrimination to permit national members-at-large to enjoy that privilege. Obviously the N. E. C. would be swamped with individual grievances that should be settled in the subdivision, did the N. E. C. not adhere to such a rule. It is believed that since national members-at-large, while nominally under the jurisdiction of the N. E. C., are in practice under the jurisdiction of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, acting in behalf of the N. E. C.

between sessions. All grievances connected with national members-at-large should be settled definitely by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee without any recourse to appeal. It follows as a matter of course, however, that the N. E. C. may take up such a case anyway if it feels at any time that the interests of the Party require it. The N. E. C. would do that as it might act on any other action taken by the Sub-Committee and of which the N. E. C. might disapprove.

The insertion of this paragraph, if adopted, would necessitate moving up the other clauses accordingly.

It is proposed to add another clause to this Article which would be known as Section 26 if the other two clauses previously mentioned are likewise adopted. The proposed clause reads as follows:

Wherever possible Sections shall organize study classes. These are to be under the direct supervision and control of the Section, and the leader of such study class shall be selected by the Section. No member may attend any so-called study class conducted by another organization or by a person or persons not connected with the Party. Nor shall a member of the Party be permitted to function as director or teacher of any so-called labor college or study class which is not under the control of the Party.

COMMENT: The question of study classes is acquiring considerable importance because of the success which they have turned out to be. Questions arise from time to time which indicate the need of some clause governing the conduct and re-

lation of these study classes to the Section and to the Party. We have had cases, for example, where an individual member desired to become instructor of an outside body purporting to be a labor college or a study class. Such a member was properly denied the right to accept such a position. We have also had cases where a study class was conducted without the Section having any supervision or control over it. Such a condition, whenever it was revealed, was promptly corrected. As stated, it seems important to have some special clause in the constitution covering this point to eliminate unnecessary wranglings or appeals, should such arise in the future.

ARTICLE VIII.

Section 3. This clause now reads as follows:

The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the conventions five months prior to the date of same, and the State Executive Committee, in transmitting the call to the Sections, shall call for nominations for delegates, such nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for.

In the absence of a State Executive Committee the National Secretary shall call for nomination and election of delegates. In the case of Language Federations such call shall be issued by the National Secretary of each respective Federation.

Delegates must be members in the state electing them.

It is proposed to amend this as follows:

The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention *six months* prior to the date of same, and the State Executive Committee shall call for nominations for delegates, *and alternates*, such nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections with instructions as to the number of candidates *for delegate and alternate* each member has a right to vote for. *The delegates and alternates to be voted upon separately.*

In the absence of a State Executive Committee the National Secretary shall call for nomination and election of delegates *and alternates*. In the case of Language Federations such call shall be issued by the National Secretary of each respective Federation.

Delegates and alternates must be members in the state electing them.

COMMENT: Five months are scarcely enough to provide for the election of a place for the convention for the reason that it is desirable to know a couple of months in advance where the convention is to be held so as to give the local organizations enough time to hire a hall and to attend to the many other matters in connection with the convention. The following words have been eliminated: "in transmitting the call to the Sections." The State Committees do not now transmit this call to the Sections. The election of a convention city is supervised entirely by the National Office and ballots are printed by the National Office. Hence, the reference which it is proposed to strike out is superfluous and misleading. The addition of the words "and alternates" is suggested for reasons of clarity and definiteness.

Section 7. This clause now reads as follows:

All acts of the National Convention shall be submitted to the Sections for approval by a general vote.

It is proposed to amend by adding the following:

and shall not be effective until so approved except in the case of presidential nominations, platform and resolutions.

COMMENT: This is a mere matter of routine to cover what now seems a defect by omitting reference to the points which it is sought to cover by the amendment.

State of Organization.

CALIFORNIA.

In this state there are still only four Sections organized, with one Section, Santa Clara County, still not giving much indication of any activities as a Section. The other Sections are Alameda Co. (Oakland), Los Angeles and San Francisco. Steady agitation has been carried on throughout the state, especially during the period that Comrade Quinn was touring it. A considerable increase in activities and membership was indicated in the case of Section Los Angeles, but unfortunately a minor disturbance took place there, which temporarily may have caused a slackening of activities. This disturbance will be dealt with separately under its proper head. On the whole the Section is in good working condition and gives promise of forging ahead during the campaign and after, spreading the agitation and propaganda of the Party.

We have a Bulgarian Federation Branch in Hollywood and Hungarian Federation Branches in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Getting on the Ballot.

During recent months a great deal of correspondence has passed between the National Office and the State Executive Committee, as well as Sections in the State, with regard to the important question of getting the Party's ticket on the ballot in the state. The obstacles, however, are such as to have deterred the comrades from making the effort. According to the statement of the State Executive Committee of California, it would cost at least \$1,000 to nominate presidential electors. In this connection the State Executive Committee submitted the following statement:

"The State Executive Committee believes the attempt to comply with the requirements of the law for getting on the ballot would be unsuccessful..... In this opinion they were sustained by a vote of the membership. While one per cent of the entire vote of the state at the last election would be required to place the Party on the ballot, the Party would be required to poll three per cent of the vote this year in order to retain its place. This would require probably about 45,000 to 50,000 votes. The Communist party is circulating petitions to get on the ballot. They failed to secure the required number two years ago, and their organization in this state is stronger, numerically, than ours."

CANADA.

In Canada we still have only one Section, Toronto, which, however, is and has been for some time quite

active. The Section is attempting to place the Socialist Labor Party of Canada on a Dominion basis. It would indeed be gratifying if a Canadian Socialist Labor Party could be re-established. There are good prospects of Sections in Hamilton, Montreal and other industrial centers. In fact, a Section could have been organized in Montreal, but owing to the fact that most of the members of such a Section would be rather inexperienced, and because of the uncertain economic conditions which might compel members to move away, it was decided to defer organization to a more propitious moment. Instead, several of these prospective Section members have enrolled as members-at-large.

Recently we have had some difficulty with the Customs Department of Canada, which exercises a censorship over all literature entering Canada. A rather large shipment of literature had been made to Section Toronto and in due time we were informed that certain titles were deemed inadmissible, presumably because of their revolutionary character. The decision, of course, was irrational in the sense that some of the pamphlets were admitted, while others were not. It would appear that the particular Customs clerk who acted on this matter proceeded on the principle of military executions where every tenth man or so is arbitrarily picked out to be shot. Or possibly the titles of the pamphlets may have been the determining factors. A protest to be addressed to the Canadian Government was in preparation when, through the intervention of a member of parliament, J. S. Woodsworth, the acknowledgment was made that an

error had been committed and that the literature might pass through. We have reshipped the parcel of pamphlets and at the moment of our writing are awaiting further results. This and technical reasons have made it necessary for our Canadian comrades to give careful consideration to the issuing of S. L. P. literature to be printed in Canada. As a beginning a Canadian leaflet fund was authorized on which some money has been collected. One or two leaflets are in preparation, or possibly by this time in print. We are assured that as fast as possible other leaflets, and possibly some pamphlets, may be reprinted and thereby guarantee a larger circulation in Canada than is the case now. In view of the fact that there is practically no difference between the economic, political and cultural status of Canada and in the United States, there seems to be no good reason why we should not have a number of Sections in Canada. Undoubtedly in the measure that things proceed from bad to worse, the workers will more and more rally round the S. L. P. banner in Canada, all the more so in view of the tragi-comedy, recently staged between the police authorities and the Anarcho-Communist elements.

At the present time we have no Language Federation Branches in Canada.

COLORADO.

In this state we still have only one Section, Denver, which has barely kept together during the four-year period. The difficulty there is that heretofore we have had no one capable of taking the lead, but recently there have been indica-

tions that the Section may grow and thus increase its activities.

We have no Language Federation Branches in Colorado.

Getting on the Ballot.

It is comparatively easy to get on the ballot in Colorado, only about 800 signatures being required. With younger and more active members in Denver, it appears reasonably certain that this year we shall appear on the ballot. Certainly every effort will be made to see that this is done. The vote cast in 1924 (which was the last time we were on the ballot in the state, having failed, for no very good reason, in 1928) was 313.

CONNECTICUT.

In Connecticut we have three Sections: Bridgeport, Hartford and New Haven. Section Rockville, which was located in a rural community, collapsed partly by reason of the locality, and partly because of depletion of membership through death. Efforts are now again being made to reconstitute the Section, though it is doubtful that much can be done in such a non-industrial locality.

Considerable activities have been carried on by Sections Hartford and Bridgeport, and to a lesser extent by Section New Haven.

We have Hungarian Federation Branches in Bridgeport and South Norwalk.

Getting on the Ballot.

It is no easy matter to get the Party's ticket on the ballot in Connecticut. Strenuous efforts were made in 1928, and while for a time it looked as though we were to meet with failure, we finally succeeded in securing the required number of

signatures. 5,530 signatures are required in order to get on the ballot in this state. If the membership would take this matter seriously and each assume responsibility for his or her share of the total number of signatures to be secured, it would be comparatively easy. However, the National Office is prepared to aid as usual and unless unforeseen circumstances arise we will be on the ballot in Connecticut as heretofore. In 1928 the S. L. P. vote in Connecticut was 622.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The Section which we had in Washington collapsed largely because of the peculiar conditions in the nation's Capitol. We have several members-at-large, however, and whenever an organizer visits Washington efforts are usually made to hold meetings, though these efforts are not always crowned with success. Until the Party grows considerably stronger it is not likely that we shall have a Section that will be able to maintain itself in this city. Comrade George is a member-at-large, and he deserves special mention and credit for the support he has given in a financial way to the various activities undertaken by the Party.

ILLINOIS.

In the state of Illinois we now have six Sections, where in 1928 we practically had only one. These Sections are: Belleville, Cook Co. (Chicago), East St. Louis, Franklin Co. (Zeigler), Peoria and Rockford. Good agitation has been carried on in most of these Sections during the last year. Section Cook County is particularly active and the Section

now includes some fine young and active comrades who are taking their S. L. P. responsibilities seriously.

The Section in Zeigler (Franklin Co.) is rather weak owing to the fact that it is a coal mining town and the membership there is naturally affected adversely by the prolonged collapse or dissolution of the coal industry—a collapse which preceded the general collapse in industry.

Several efforts have been made to organize a Section in Springfield, but they have so far proved unsuccessful. Possibly during the campaign when organizers may be maintained in some of these places for longer periods than usual, Sections may be organized in Springfield as well as elsewhere.

In Belleville we have had considerable trouble practically since the Section was organized a little more than a year ago through the special work done by Comrade Quinn. No sooner had the Section received its charter than there were indications of trouble afoot within the Section, and this trouble soon revealed itself as being of a particularly disruptive nature. The details of this trouble will be dealt with separately under its proper head.

We have Language Federation Branches in Illinois as follows: Bulgarian: Benton, Chicago, Frankfort Heights, Granite City, Madison, Zeigler. South Slavonian: Bellwood, Chicago, South Chicago.

Getting on the Ballot.

In the matter of getting on the ballot in this state our difficulties have increased exactly twenty-five-fold. In 1928, and in all previous

campaigns, only 1,000 signatures were required and these, of course, were secured with no great difficulty. Since then, however, the election laws have been changed so that now 25,000 signatures are required. The comrades in Illinois, however, are determined to overcome this difficulty and the usual state and presidential nominees have been named and the work of securing the large number of signatures is being organized. The state will require financial support from the National Office, which, of course, will be forthcoming. In 1928 the Party polled 1812 votes in this state.

INDIANA.

In this state there has also been marked progress. We now have four Sections in the state, all of them giving indications of working and growing. The Sections are: Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis and South Bend. A State Committee has recently been organized and a state convention will take place in May, to nominate candidates.

We have the following Language Federation Branches in the state of Indiana: Bulgarian: Fort Wayne, Gary and Indianapolis. South Slavonian: Gary, South Bend and Indiana Harbor.

Getting on the Ballot.

Only 500 signatures are needed in order to get the Party's ticket on the ballot in the state, and with the four Sections and a State Executive Committee organized, there should be no question this year about appearing on the ballot.

In 1928 we polled 645 votes in the state.

IOWA.

Section Clinton, which for many years was a sort of lone outpost among S. L. P. Sections, collapsed a couple of years ago. One of our most active comrades died, and others became ill and thus incapacitated from carrying on as they did before. There are, however, still several members-at-large and every effort possible will be made to get on the ballot. The report as to requirements in this respect has not yet been received, but unless the election laws have been changed since 1928, only 500 signatures are needed. In 1928 we polled 230 votes in this state.

KENTUCKY.

In Kentucky we still have one Section, Louisville, which is carrying on excellent propaganda work for the Party. Through one of the members in the Section who was able to give the necessary financial support, it was possible to organize a lecture tour with Comrade Taylor's stereopticon lectures on "The Origin and Development of Society." In an educational sense these lectures were successful, but naturally the Party met with the usual difficulties with respect to publicity, although considerable efforts were expended in advertising the lectures. The Section has carried on numerous activities and, being also a sort of lone outpost, it deserves special credit and recognition for persisting as bravely as it does in holding aloft the banner of the S. L. P.

There are no Language Federation Branches in this state.

Getting on the Ballot.

A thousand signatures are required to get on the ballot in the

state and on the basis of the report received there seems to be absolutely no question about having the Party's ticket on the ballot in Kentucky. In 1928 we polled 338 votes in the state.

MAINE.

We have a few members-at-large in the state, and if the number is added to before it is too late, we may yet be able to put the Party's ticket on the ballot in the state. It is comparatively easy to do this, but without a Section in the state even the most liberal election laws will not help us much.

In 1924, which was the last time we were on the ballot, the Party polled 406 votes.

MARYLAND.

In Maryland we now have two hustling Sections, Baltimore and Cumberland. Whenever organizers are sent to these two Sections it is almost always a foregone conclusion that meetings will be arranged. Recently a party of four young New York comrades visited the two Sections and excellent meetings were held on each occasion.

Getting on the Ballot.

Two thousand signatures are the legal requirements for getting on the ballot in Maryland. Two thousand six hundred have been secured and, according to the report we have, nomination was filed on April 11. Barring anything unforeseen the Party's ticket is then assured on the ballot in Maryland.

In the state of Maryland 906 votes were cast for the Party's candidates in 1928.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Massachusetts we have three Sections as follows: Boston, Essex County (Lynn), and Hampden County (Springfield). We did have a small Section in Waltham which, however, was merely the former Scandinavian Branch which had been reconstituted as Section Waltham upon the dissolution of the Scandinavian Federation. Recently it became necessary to dissolve this Section for the reason that it had virtually ceased to function. The members are being transferred as members-at-large in the state.

Excellent work is being carried on in Massachusetts, and particularly in the cities of Boston and Lynn (Essex Co.). Section Boston has made great strides forward during the last two years, as has also the Section in Lynn where the industrial conditions are, perhaps, as bad as they can possibly be in an industrial community in this country. This rather large city depends practically upon two industries, the General Electric and the shoe industry, both of which have been exceptionally affected, and of the two the shoe industry to the point of almost complete paralysis. Naturally the thousands upon thousands of workers thus thrown out of work are clamoring for relief while groping for a way out. Thus the Party's message has fallen on receptive ears and excellent attendance has been had at most of the meetings held in this city. Section Essex County is located in very pleasing headquarters and according to reports received new members are being admitted, with intense agitational and educational work going on all the time. Comrade Berry, the old S. L.

P. war horse, carries on with unremitting zeal worthy a man many years his junior.

We have no Language Federation Branches in Massachusetts.

Getting on the Ballot.

There appear to be absolutely no difficulties about getting on the ballot in Massachusetts. On the basis of the report received it is almost an automatic process since no signatures are required and no expense is attached to getting on the ballot. If other states were as liberal as is the state of Massachusetts, it is easy to visualize the number of states where the Party would have tickets on the ballot, and one can also very readily visualize the result both in point of agitation and votes.

In 1928 we polled 773 votes in the state of Massachusetts.

MICHIGAN.

In the state of Michigan we have now two Sections, Detroit and Jackson. A Section was organized in Pontiac and there were good prospects of a Section in Flint, but in the latter case these prospects did not materialize. Section Pontiac, after a desperate struggle, had to give up, thus leaving these two Sections.

Section Jackson was organized a year or two ago and promises to give a good account of itself. A minor disturbance occurred through the disruptive action of a member who had only joined a few months before, and who evidently never should have been admitted to membership. The matter, however, was quietly and effectively settled by the expulsion of the offending member. Recently a debate was held in this city under the auspices of Section

Jackson between an S. L. P. representative and a representative from the so-called Proletarian party. According to reports received not only from members, but also from non-members of the Party who were present, the Proletarian party representative acquitted himself in typical slum proletarian fashion.

The city of Detroit has suffered considerably as a result of the disruptive outbreak a year or so ago. The elimination of the disrupters, however, has brought new strength to the Party, even though the activities of the Section are no longer accompanied with the ballyhoo which characterized the activities during the period when the ex-professor attempted to occupy the center of the stage. With proper attention the Section can be built up in Detroit, but our experience in the past seems to justify the conclusion that disruptive outbreaks will recur in Detroit from time to time. It would seem as if Section Detroit is a sort of cockpit in the S. L. P. The agitation has suffered in an adverse sense by reason of the prevalent unemployment, particularly among our Language Federation Branches, which heretofore have contributed considerably toward the Section's activities.

We have the following Language Federation Branches in Michigan: Bulgarian: Detroit, Pontiac. Hungarian: Detroit. South Slavonian: Detroit, Hamtramck.

Getting on the Ballot.

Two thousand signatures are required to get on the primary ballot which if secured would appear to guarantee our appearance on the ballot.

In 1928 the Party polled 799 votes in the state.

MINNESOTA.

In Minnesota we have three Sections, viz.: Minneapolis, St. Paul and Winona. Recently inquiries have been received from a farming district with requests for material with which to organize a Section, so that possibly we shall add another Section to those already organized in the state. Of the three Sections, Minneapolis appears to be the most active, but unfortunately to that should be added that it also appears to be the one with most internal difficulties. This, however, will be dealt with separately.

The little Section in Winona is maintaining its existence and doing such work as it can under the rather unfavorable circumstances in which it finds itself. The Winona comrades, however, appear to be determined to keep up the activities in their locality, and every aid possible will be extended them by the National Office.

There are no Language Federation Branches in Minnesota.

Getting on the Ballot.

Two thousand signatures of legal voters who did not vote at the primary election in June are required to get on the ballot. Owing to the fact that the name Socialist is pre-empted in the state, it will be necessary for our Party to appear under the designation of Industrial Party in Minnesota, as also was the case in the past. It will be necessary for the National Office to contribute financially in order to insure our Party's ticket on the ballot in Minnesota.

In 1928 we polled in Minnesota 1,921 votes.

MISSOURI.

There are two Sections in this state, namely, Kansas City and St. Louis, with excellent prospects of organizing a Section in St. Joseph. Recently two members-at-large have been added who reside in St. Joseph. It is planned to carry on considerable activities in this latter city and, of course, as much as possible throughout the state.

We have had considerable difficulties in St. Louis, particularly during the last year or so. This trouble connected directly with the disruption in Belleville of which more will be told later. The climax was reached in St. Louis recently when H. J. Poelling was expelled for disruptive activities. Two or three weak sisters followed him into voluntary exile!

In the state of Missouri we have the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian: St. Louis. South Slavonian: St. Louis.

Getting on the Ballot.

Comrade Cox reports that the S. L. P. ticket has been filed for primary election in August. No signatures are needed in order to be admitted to the primaries. In this respect Missouri seems to share honors with Massachusetts. There are, however, dark clouds hovering on the horizon according to the report of Comrade Cox, in which it is intimated that there may be changes made in the laws at the next legislature, making it more difficult to get on the ballot. Disagreeable as that, of course, is, it must be considered as more or less logical in view of the progressive reaction of

capitalism, both economically and politically.

In Missouri 340 votes were cast in 1928 for the Party's candidates.

NEW JERSEY.

In New Jersey we have three Sections: Essex County (Newark), Hudson County (Jersey City and Hoboken) and Passaic County (Paterson). For a while Section Essex County was unusually active and splendid work was done, particularly while Comrades Reynolds and Hass were residing in Newark. No doubt, with the coming of the open air season this activity will be revived. The other Sections are just about holding their own.

In the city of Paterson it is a difficult task to carry on S. L. P. agitation owing to the demoralization of the workers from the many unsuccessful strikes that have been carried on in the silk industry, and frequently under the direction of adventurers and fakers of the worst type. The silk industry itself appears to be on the rocks, with the usual results of widespread unemployment and part-time employment.

In New Jersey we have the South Slavonian Branch at Hoboken.

Getting on the Ballot.

Eight hundred signatures are required in order to get on the ballot in New Jersey. There appear to be no difficulties about securing these and immediately following the National Convention of the Party the national ticket will be filed.

In 1928, 500 votes were cast for the presidential candidates of the Party. The State Secretary reports a state vote of 1,500 cast a year ago.

NEW YORK.

In this, the "Empire State," we have ten Sections, most of which are carrying on splendid activities. The Sections are as follows: Bronx, Erie Co. (Buffalo), Jamestown, Kings Co. (Brooklyn), Montgomery Co. (Amsterdam), New York, Oneida Co. (Utica), Onondaga Co. (Syracuse), Rensselaer Co. (Troy) and Schenectady. Particularly active, of course, are the three Sections in Greater New York, Rensselaer County and Jamestown. The other Sections are doing probably as well as can be expected under the adverse circumstances. It is particularly gratifying to report the splendid work done in Jamestown. In this city of largely furniture workers, an independent union has recently been organized, calling itself the United Workers of Greater Jamestown. While this union proceeds from the premises of the fundamentals of Socialism, it is nevertheless unclear and confused in many important respects. Our members, however, are active among these workers and have been instrumental in securing speakers for some of their meetings. Included among these speakers have been Comrade Reynolds who, with Comrade Herschel, visited Jamestown on his recent short tour. A minor disturbance grew out of the relations of one of the members to this amorphous labor union. The individual, one Oscar Anderson, who had been expelled some years ago with the expulsion of the then Scandinavian Branch of Jamestown, had accepted a position in this union contrary to the instructions of the Section. When called upon to withdraw he defied the Section to expel him,

which it promptly did. There is every indication that we shall have a good Section in Jamestown, for the members have apparently determined to carry on S. L. P. work in an organized, disciplined manner.

In New York we have the following Language Federation Branches: Bulgarian: Lackawanna, Syracuse. Hungarian: New York, South Slavonian: Lackawanna, New York.

Getting on the Ballot.

A minimum of 12,000 signatures is required to get on the ballot in the state of New York. It is not easy to secure these signatures for the reason that at least 50 must be gathered from each of the 60 counties in the state. Were we to fall short of five or ten signatures in one county, though we had more than enough and to spare in the other, we would still fail to qualify. As usual, however, the signature gathering will be attended to and without a doubt we shall be on the ballot in the state of New York.

In 1928 we polled a vote of 4,211. In 1930 close to 9,100 votes were cast for our gubernatorial candidate.

OHIO.

In the state of Ohio we have the following Sections: Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Lucas County (Toledo), Lorain and Youngstown. Thus, in actual number of Sections, Ohio runs neck to neck with New York, though of course the membership is smaller in Ohio. Of these, three Sections have been organized recently, namely, Dayton, Lorain and Toledo, while Section Canton was reorganized some time ago. Excellent work is being carried on in practically ev-

ery Section, notably in Cleveland. This Section, however, has suffered an irreparable loss through the death of John D. Goerke, but notwithstanding this loss the Section reports a splendid spirit and determination to carry on against all odds.

Cincinnati and Columbus joined with Section Louisville in arranging the series of lectures delivered by Comrade Taylor. At this writing there is no definite report as to the results. As will be noted, we finally succeeded in getting a Section organized in Toledo (Lucas County), though some of the membership is rather inexperienced. It is hoped, however, that through the assistance of the State and National Offices, and with national organizers visiting Toledo during the campaign, the Section will strengthen itself both in membership and understanding of the importance of carrying on S. L. P. agitation in an organized manner. Comrade Culshaw was instrumental in effecting organization in the city of Toledo.

We have the following Language Federation Branches in Ohio: Bulgarian: Akron, Cleveland, Lorain, Mansfield, Toledo. Hungarian: Akron, Cleveland (East), Cleveland (West) and Lorain. South Slavonian: Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown.

Getting on the Ballot.

It is a very difficult proposition to get on the ballot in Ohio. There are several methods of getting on the ballot, none of which, however, seems easy. According to the report recently received from Comrade Woodhouse, who visited the office of the Secretary of State at Co-

lumbus, there may be a way of getting on the ballot by getting 20,000 signatures. Considering the enormous number of signatures, and in view of the fact that even that number does not appear to be certain, there is some cause to feel concerned about the situation. However, the National Office will do all that it possibly can financially and otherwise toward assisting the comrades in Ohio to get on the ballot. In addition to the usual difficulties we find that the designation of the Party may not exceed eleven letters. This is a provision similar to the one in New York State, and may necessitate the appearance of the Party on the ballot in Ohio as Social Labor Party, which is the designation in New York State.

In 1928 the vote for the S. L. P. in Ohio was 1,515.

OREGON.

In Oregon we have two Sections, Bend and Portland. We are all familiar with the terrible blows which were struck directly at our movement in Oregon through the deaths of Comrades Johns and Stromquist. Notwithstanding these terrible blows, our movement has forged ahead and the reports now being received from Portland indicate greater all-around activities than ever before, with young and enthusiastic members joining the Section.

We have a Bulgarian Language Federation Branch in Portland.

Getting on the Ballot.

Somewhat over 11,000 signatures are required to get on the ballot, and it will unquestionably be necessary for the National Office to help defray the expenses of getting on the ballot. At the moment of writing

we are sending to all the Sections in the country copies of the souvenir prepared by our late Comrade Stromquist to honor our chosen presidential candidate in 1928, the late Comrade Frank T. Johns, the idea being to sell these souvenirs throughout the country and to use the proceeds to help get the Party's ticket on the ballot in Oregon, thus certifying to the workers of Oregon that the spirit of Frank T. Johns goes marching on.

In 1928 we polled 1,564 votes in the state of Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Pennsylvania we have two Sections, Allegheny County (Pittsburg) and Philadelphia. Both of these Sections are active and growing, particularly the latter. Splendid meetings have been held in Philadelphia during the last few years. It seems impossible, however, to extend our organized activities much beyond these two centers. With renewed efforts it may be possible to reorganize the Section in Erie and we ought to have Sections in several other industrial centers in the state. But whereas formerly the workers' apathy was more or less responsible for our difficulties in effecting organization, so now the unemployment and economic adverse circumstances of the workers are a barrier against getting new Sections organized.

In Pennsylvania we have the following South Slavonian Language Federation Branches: Luzerne, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Slovan.

Getting on the Ballot.

A little over 9,000 signatures are required to get on the ballot in Pennsylvania. Heretofore we have ap-

peared on the ballot as the Industrialist Party, and apparently we shall have to appear in the same manner this year. There seems, however, to be no question about getting on the ballot.

In 1928, 380 votes were cast for the Party's candidate in Pennsylvania.

RHODE ISLAND.

"Little Rhodie" still holds its own with one Section in Providence which, of course, is practically the state of Rhode Island. The Section is not making much progress and it has suffered adversely, first, by reason of the death of that staunch S. L. P. fighter, Peter McDermott, and later through the removal from the city of Comrade James Matthews who found himself compelled to leave the state. There have been minor flurries within the Section, apparently over nothing very important, though a certain ineptness in handling undesirable characters has been manifested. Comrade Quinn addressed a meeting arranged in Newport and according to reports received it would seem possible to organize a Section in that town with some special efforts.

We have no Language Federation Branches in the state of Rhode Island.

Getting on the Ballot.

Five hundred signatures of citizens who have not attended caucuses are required to get on the ballot in the state. Without a doubt we shall succeed and the National Office is prepared to extend what financial aid may be needed.

In 1928, 416 votes were cast for our presidential candidate, whereas at last year's election over 1,000 votes were cast.

VIRGINIA.

In Virginia we now have no Section and have had none for a number of years. There are members-at-large throughout the state, among them some of the oldest members in the Party, notably Comrades D. L. Munro and Ed. Schade. Whatever physical disabilities these comrades may have suffered, however, they are still as mentally alert and as enthusiastic for the principles of the S. L. P. as ever. Last year one of the oldest members of the Party, Comrade H. A. Muller, died. He was the State Secretary in Virginia for many years, a comrade who could always be depended upon to see to it that the Party got on the ballot and that the interests of the Party in the state were safeguarded. Despite the fact that he was in his eighty-fourth year in 1928, Comrade Muller saw to it that the ticket appeared on the ballot in Virginia and the vote cast was 179. Whether or not it will be possible to appear on the ballot in Virginia this year remains to be seen, but needless to say the matter will be carefully looked into.

WASHINGTON.

In the state of Washington we have the following Sections: Seattle and Spokane. Tacoma lapsed a couple of years ago, chiefly due to disruptive activities of two or three members. Unemployment and uncertainty of where the next job would be also played havoc with the Section and its collapse was inevitable. Through the splendid activities of J. Durych (which have been dealt with previously in this report) a new Section has been organized in Tacoma with material that promises

well for a good active Section in that city.

Splendid work is being done in Seattle where lectures and other meetings are held regularly with a steady distribution of leaflets.

There are no Language Federation Branches in Washington.

Getting on the Ballot.

To get on the ballot in Washington, it is necessary to nominate a candidate to head the ticket and the expense is nominal. One per cent of the salary of the nominee for the office to be filled must be paid as filing fee, and this amount is forfeited if the candidate fails of election, which, of course, means that it becomes an expense to be met by the Party. Without a doubt we shall appear on the ballot in Washington in the manner indicated.

In 1928 over 4,000 votes were cast for the Party's presidential candidates.

WISCONSIN.

In this state we still have only the one Section in Milwaukee, which, however, carries on steady agitation year in and year out. Younger and more energetic comrades are coming to the fore, developing as speakers and as capable representatives of the Party. It must be assumed that the so-called success of the fake Socialist party in Wisconsin is responsible to some extent for the failure of the Section to make any marked advances numerically and otherwise. Evidently Milwaukee is the home par excellence of the petty bourgeois. It is difficult to explain the persistence of the S. P. in hanging on to political office in Milwaukee. The recent reelection of Hoan and the campaign carried on certifies to

the typical bourgeois character of this fake outfit masquerading as a Socialist party. So far as the state of Wisconsin is concerned, however, there is a fly in the ointment for the S. P., for immediately upon reporting the sweeping "success" of the S. P. in Racine, comes the report that the "Socialist Mayor of Racine" had been expelled and compelled to resign. One wonders what this "Socialist Mayor" could have done that warranted expulsion, but it may be taken for granted that it could not possibly include violation of any S. P. principle, since that has never before constituted cause for expulsion in that bourgeois outfit.

We have Bulgarian and South Slavonian Federation Branches in Milwaukee.

Getting on the Ballot.

A thousand signatures are required for each individual candidate in order to get on the ballot. Since only slight changes affecting the Party have been made in the election laws, there appears to be no reason why we should not be on the ballot in Wisconsin this year.

In 1928 we polled 381 votes in the state.

Language Federations.

Reports from the Language Federations have been received and are submitted herewith together with a brief statement from Comrade P. Coroneos, Editor of our Greek paper, the *Bulletin*, who reports on the activities of the Greek Branches:

REPORT OF THE BULGARIAN S. L. F.

Dear Comrades:

In rendering the report of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federa-

tion for the past four years, I may state at the outset that, in point of figures or numbers, the results from our activities are not what might have been expected or at least are far from justifying the efforts made. The so-called depression, which made itself felt throughout soon after the last campaign, almost from the very beginning hit hard sections and industries where most of our members were employed and whence theretofore a great part of our income was derived, viz., automobile and mining. Not only a great number of our members in these localities, but likewise other workers, were either completely thrown out of work or reduced to part-time work. As a result, our Branches in these localities were very much handicapped in the work of procuring the necessary means, though exerting as much effort as before, and were able to realize but a part of what they formerly used to. And, of course, in time other branches in other localities were confronted with similar circumstances. Thus things grew from bad to worse, increasing in the same proportion the hardship on the membership and thereby causing some of the weaker members to fall out, which made it all the harder on the remaining members, and of course on the National Office as well.

But while the work of procuring material means is getting difficult and pressing, due to the growth of unemployment, the work of agitation and propaganda, due to the self-evident bankruptcy of capitalism, is getting easier and more pleasing. The eager listeners of the S. L. P. teachings are rapidly growing in numbers, and what is more, they are

commencing to appreciate the logic of S. L. P. teachings. Although the slogan or slum revolutionists of the Anarcho-Communist type still persist in their business of confusing the workers, with their foolish slogans and slum tactics, they have become the laughing stock of all the clean and clear-thinking element among the Bulgarians; and especially of late when, due perhaps to some new "orientation," they commenced very loudly to identify their brand of Communism with the nationalistic liberation of Macedonia. Thus, while the former proposition tends to dishearten some and even causes a few of the less sturdy to fall out, the latter encourages all the well-grounded and spurs them toward greater and more intensive activity. And it is hoped, in fact all signs point in that direction, that the entire membership will soon have adapted themselves to the changed conditions, which place upon us much greater responsibility and demand of each and every one of us much greater effort and sacrifice than ever before.

Thus, while we are still struggling with the difficult task of balancing the finances—collecting the necessary funds for the upkeep of the organization, there is no lack of hope or spirit that the task can and will be overcome by increased efforts. For some time, to be sure, it surely looked blue and the National Office had to fall back on the reserves to a great extent, but the membership is now quickly rising to the occasion and is rapidly adapting itself to the requirement of the situation at hand. And if there still be slackers, the coming campaign ought

to furnish the extra impetus and drive all to the front.

Due to the adverse conditions touched upon above, since the last convention, our Branches have been reduced from 24 to 22 and the membership from 506, as reported at the last convention, to 370, as per last annual report. New members admitted for the four years 139, dropped 191, left for old country 39, left the organization 26, expelled 4, deceased 10, and transferred to Sections 5. Likewise there is a marked drop in the prepaid subscriptions of the *Rabotnicheska Prosveta*, from 1720 to 1,420, though the paper is still distributed in about 2,000 copies each week.

For the four years the following Party pamphlets have been translated and printed:

"Proletarian Dictatorship and Industrial Unionism," 1,200 copies; "The Burning Question of Trade Unionism," 1,600 copies; "A Review and An Outlook," 1,500 copies; "1776-1926," 1,500 copies; "The Gotha Program," 2,000 copies; "Who Are the Falsifiers," 1,000 copies."

During the four years the Party has been assisted financially as follows: Collections for the 1928 campaign \$6,260.55, for the Press Fund \$5,536.92, Agitation Fund \$461.12, 40th Anniversary Fund \$385.26, Voluntary Assessment \$499.08, Convention and N. E. C. Expense Assessment \$1,749, for dues stamps \$1,332, and direct donation from the Federation treasury \$6,000, or a total of \$22,223.93. Of course, this is only what has come through the National Office.

Financial standing of the Federation, as per last annual report:

Cash on hand \$3,621.98, machinery and equipment \$3,139.64, stock \$3,692.18, accounts receivable \$1,724.17, and real estate \$9,727.62; total \$21,905.59.

Though these figures are taken from the balance sheet of November 14, with the exception of the first item, the cash on hand, they are substantially correct to date. Of the cash on hand \$1,000 was donated to the Campaign Fund recently, and then other expenses brought it down to about \$1,500 to date.

At the last convention it was reported that the Federation was burdened with a mighty problem of building headquarters. Now we are glad to report that we got rid of the mighty burden. This proposition was abandoned early in 1930, and fortunately so, otherwise we would have been crushed under its weight by this time or even much earlier. Out of this still remains the real estate mentioned above, having been unable to get rid of it, which still continues to burden us. Anyway, having got rid of the big burden, we are now in a position to throw all our forces to the most urgent Party work.

Fraternally submitted,

Theo. Baeff,
Secretary.

Granite City, Ill.,
April 19, 1932.

REPORT OF THE HUNGARIAN S. L. F.

Dear Comrades:

Summing up the activities of the members of the Hungarian Socialist

Labor Federation for the year 1931, I can state that it was proved once more that such a thing as depression is not discouraging to revolutionists. Though many of the members were unemployed and therefore deprived of a livelihood, they have found ways and means to finance the activities of the movement, at least in such a manner that the debt should not increase very much.

The Federation has now 151 members in 10 Branches and 6 members-at-large. Two Branches with a total of 14 members collapsed last year, one in Chicago and the other one in Milwaukee. Almost all the members were unemployed in these Branches and in spite of our insistence that they ought to apply for exemption stamps they have failed to do so.

We had two organizers in the field for four and thirteen weeks. They have held meetings and sold literature and have spread our message by house-to-house agitation. Their reports were that the Hungarian workers are eagerly listening to the S. L. P. teachings. There is a prospect for organizing new Branches in Dayton and in Youngstown, Ohio.

Although the Branches are somewhat handicapped in their activities because most of the members and our sympathizers are unemployed, they do hold public meetings and are distributing S. L. P. leaflets both in English and in Hungarian. Out of the 10 Branches, 7 have study classes and discussion meetings regularly at least twice a month.

The Federation has published 3 leaflets out of the 8 new S. L. P. leaflets and 3 more are in preparation. They were printed in 5,000

copies of each. No new pamphlets were published.

There was a decrease of \$400 in the sale of subs of the *A Munkas*. A decrease of \$66 in the sale of dues stamps.

Donations for our press fund show an increase from \$1,508.20 in 1930 to \$2,072.71 in 1931.

At the end of 1930 the Federation had a debt of \$939.75 and efforts were made to liquidate the debt. These efforts had good results and were so promising that the idea of giving up the headquarters and taking advantage of Comrade Petersen's offer to us for using some parts of the National Headquarters of the Party, was abandoned. There was hope that the New York Branch of the Federation would be able to find a better location and a hall which could be used more advantageously for the movement. Then a relapse occurred, our Detroit and Akron Branches were hit harder by the depression, they hardly could raise enough funds to finance their local activities, and the debt of the Federation started to increase. At the end of 1931 it was \$1,354. Doubled efforts are being made now to raise a fund big enough not only to pay off our debt, but also to have enough for increasing the activities of the Federation. In November last, the Sub-Committee of the Federation asked the members to assess themselves voluntarily \$8 per member, this to be paid before the end of 1931. Only \$373.76 was paid this way at the end of last year and up to March 26, 1932, this fund amounts to \$757.31. Though we failed to accomplish what we were after, the increased activities by some of the Branches, especially in

Bridgeport and South Norwalk, Conn., are promising good results in the near future.

The National Secretary-Editor of the Federation has taken a voluntary reduction of pay from \$40 a week to \$35 in order to stimulate better cooperation for strengthening the Federation.

It is encouraging to note here that although the income of the Federation is declining, our financial relation with the Party is improving, as the money forwarded from us to the National Office is increasing. In 1928 we sent for dues stamps, assessments and for the different funds \$276.44, in 1929 \$469.80, in 1930 \$533.15, and in 1931 \$631.92.

For publicity the National Office of the Federation is mailing out price lists of our publications, marked copies of *A Munkas* and the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and some of our leaflets. If S. L. P. lectures are given or if we have candidates at state or national elections, the Hungarian papers are notified and we get many times from 10 to 30 inches of column space free of charge. Last year in New Jersey two papers published almost in full the campaign statement of Comrade J. C. Butterworth, S. L. P. candidate for governor.

Our total income in the year of 1931 was \$5,588.38, expenditure \$5,560.65, balance \$27.73, against which are the following debts: Mileage Fund of the Federation \$352, for the printer for literature printed \$140, for 3 issues of *A Munkas* \$222, salary for 16 weeks to National Secretary-Editor \$640; total \$1,354.

The balance sheet of the Federation is in preparation for the com-

ing National Convention to be convened in New York on May 7, 1932, and will be sent to you as soon as finished.

The balance sheet for the property of our Detroit Branch will be sent to you as soon as received. In this connection I can state that the membership of our Detroit Branch will abide by the decision of the N. E. C. and will sell the property as soon as possible without much loss. It was reported to me that the Branch cannot meet the payment on the capital and an arrangement was made with the mortgage holder that no payment on the capital is required, only the regular rate of interest, which is paid.

For the coming national campaign we hope to give our utmost support both morally and financially. There are two regional organizing committees of the Federation and these will plan an agitational and organizing campaign as soon as possible as we feel that it is our duty to carry on the good work of the S. L. P. among the Hungarian-speaking wage slaves until they, too, are ready to line up under the banner of Revolutionary Socialism for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Alex. Kudlik,

National Secretary, H.S.L.F.

New York, N. Y.,

April 7, 1932.

REPORT OF THE SOUTH SLAVONIAN S.L.F.

Dear Comrades:

It is almost three years since the capitalist depression and unemploy-

ment threw into the arms of starvation and destitution millions upon millions of the working men and women the world over. This situation has developed to an extent unparalleled in the history of capitalist society. Never before has class society faced a situation such as has prevailed during the period of 1929-1932. Nevertheless the present economic depression is not an unexpected one to the Marxian Socialist. We knew that the capitalist anarchy in production had to reach the point so brilliantly described by Engels in the following sentences: "In the crises, the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation breaks out forcibly. The circulation of commodities is for the time destroyed; money, the medium of circulation, becomes hindrance to circulation; all the laws of the production and circulation of commodities stand upon their heads; the economic collision has reached its height: *The mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange.*"

With a productive capacity increased manifold, with gigantic means of production, means of sustenance, available workmen, with all the elements of production of wealth in abundance, yet the more wealth the workers produced, the sooner they found themselves starving. "The abundance," as Fourier said, "becomes the source of want and distress." Never before have crises demonstrated this fact so clearly as today. The capitalist ownership in the means of production and sustenance stands as a specter between the death and life of the great majority of the population, that is, the working class. The abolishing of the capitalist ownership in the

means of production and establishing the social ownership—the Industrial Republic of Labor—becomes more and more a grave necessity for the American working class. We are approaching a situation which will cry, as Karl Marx put it: “Hic Rhodus Hic Salta.”

With all these things in view, each and every member and sympathizer of the Socialist Labor Party should be aware of the fact that this presidential year offers us a rare opportunity unparalleled in the history of our revolutionary movement, to carry our sane **Marxian** message to the millions of the American workers with increased activities and enthusiasm. We should also be aware of another fact, that in this presidential campaign we will face all sorts of opposition and more bitter enemies of the social revolution than ever before, who will resort to all means in order to becloud the issue of the Marxian Socialist and in the attempt to drive the revolutionary instinct of the workers into the ground. Being aware of all these and many other things, we should pledge ourselves to put the national campaign of the Socialist Labor Party over the top.

Four years ago we had a little clean-up of our own, that is, we expelled a score of disrupters with ex-editor and ex-national secretary, Mr. S. Kontrin, as their leader. At the beginning of our trouble with disrupters the whole affair appeared merely as personal grievances. It was due to the fact that a disrupter, being dishonest and cowardly at heart, is always ready to swear his loyalty to the organization and in the meantime accuse the same **for** one thing or another. In our case

they accused our Federation of being bourgeois and having resorted to bourgeois methods. Later on, however, they accused the whole national organization of being such.

I have mentioned these things simply to let you know that we have nothing to regret for having done so. We now have peace and harmony in the Federation and we feel capable of carrying on our great task to the ultimate goal.

In order to convey to you a picture of our activities throughout the last four years, I will use a few figures.

Four years ago (1928) we had 20 Branches with about 290 members. We now have 25 Branches with about 335 members. Our Branches are located in the following cities: Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown, Ohio; Bellwood, Chicago and South Chicago, Ill.; Detroit and Hamtramck, Mich.; Gary, Indiana Harbor and South Bend, Ind.; Hoboken and Maple Shade, N. J.; Lackawanna and New York, N. Y.; Luzerne, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Slovan, Pa.; Milwaukee, Wis., and St. Louis, Mo.

With one or two exceptions all Branches are active and in good standing. There are, however, a number of our comrades who have been out of work for quite some time. But in spite of this fact there is not the slightest indication of inertia or discouragement in our ranks. Our Branches carry on our revolutionary tasks as well as our financial burdens satisfactorily.

During the last four years we have collected 11,083 subscriptions to *Radnicka Borba* and between six

and seven hundred to the **WEEKLY PEOPLE**. The prepaid subscriptions to the *Radnicka Borba* for this period amount to \$18,572.25, and donations to our funds for the same period amount to \$19,172.78. Nevertheless, the mailing list of *Radnicka Borba* shows a slight decrease in 1931. The reason is, however, the unemployment situation. Several hundreds of our members and sympathizers are unable to renew their subs. This holds good in respect to many of our fellow workers.

In the course of the last four years we have published 39,700 copies of literature, including two volumes of Sue books—“The Gold Pickle” and “Brass Bell.” The cash receipts for literature during this period amount to \$15,811.96. Since 1917 we have been publishing every year regularly a *Kalendar* (Almanac) in 5,000 to 6,500 copies. The last pages of the Almanac contain advertisements and through this source we have received \$4,421.50. The practice of publishing this Almanac proved to be profitable. It gives us a chance to reach at least five to six thousands of workers with our literature and also to realize at least from two to three thousand dollars clear.

For the National Campaign Fund of 1928 we have contributed \$4,131.96, and for other Party funds \$2,053.64. How much we shall be able to raise this year for the National Campaign Fund remains to be seen. But judging by the sentiments, eagerness and readiness on the part of our membership there are reasons to believe that the total amount will fairly exceed that of 1928. At any rate, we will try our best.

Total cash receipts during the last four years heap up to \$86,969.98. These are, however, the bare figures, but beneath there are volumes of human labor invested by our membership not with the purpose to obtain the bare figures but primarily to spread our revolutionary message among our fellow workers.

At present we have two organizers in the field, who are touring the country and are doing remarkable work for the organization and our paper. From the financial standpoint they are not as successful as in previous years, but from the educational and moral standpoint they are much more successful than before. Two years ago we had five organizers at the time. Our organizers are not expensive and usually they cover up their expenses through the subscriptions, literature sales and collections.

Last fall I informed the National Office that almost all of our comrades and sympathizers in Buenos Aires, Argentine, had been raided and arrested. Just a few weeks ago I received a letter from Comrade Vojnovich informing this office that they are all out. This is good news. They were kept in jail for five months. But fortunately enough, Comrade Vojnovich somehow escaped. The police were after him but did not find him. On one side, according to his letter, they were victims of the reactionary regime of Uriburu and, on the other, of agents provocateurs, Mr. Peter Kurtich, leader of the Yugoslav Communists, and Mr. Mario Maynarich, leader of the Croatian dollar patriots. Being out now, they will renew their activities for the Socialist Labor Party.

During last winter we received

quite a number of communications from comrades in Montevideo, Uruguay, concerning a certain misunderstanding among some of them. The whole thing was rather trivial in its nature. Yet it led to the expulsion of a few members. Otherwise they are active and trying to do their best, under the circumstances, for our movement.

The financial standing of the Federation as per financial statement for the year ending December 31, 1931: Balance, \$6.49; receipts, \$17,725.49; expenditures, \$17,494.52; cash balance, \$237.46.

For the successful national campaign, I remain,

Fraternally yours,
Milos Malencich,
Secretary.

Cleveland, Ohio,
April 17, 1932.

REPORT OF GREEK S. L. P. BRANCHES AND GREEK PAPER.

Dear Comrades:

Six years have already passed away since that memorable day when a small group of Greek members took the decision to reorganize the Greek Branch of our Section in Detroit and pursue thereafter reorganization of our movement among the Greek workers of the land.

After six years of hard work and perseverance we have succeeded in receiving the honor of being included in the general report to the National Convention.

We began with seven members in Detroit and another seven or ten,

perhaps, spread all over this broad land of the United States.

Today we have two well organized Branches, one in Detroit consisting of 11 members, all in good standing, and the other in Chicago of 19 members, 16 of whom are in good standing. There is another group of four in Zeigler, Ill.

There, in Zeigler, a Section was organized by Comrade Quinn in 1928, which, however, ceased functioning in 1930. There are four members left there.

Besides these organized groups there are Greek comrades in different cities, who are cooperating with us for the advancement of our Greek movement. In short, there are approximately 10 or 15 members of the Party in general who are in direct contact with us. Total Greek membership that we know of is something like 50.

Our headquarters now are in Chicago, Ill., and our Greek Branch there is the custodian of our Greek organ, literature and the rest.

During all this period, we have lost about 9 members while we have gained more than 30.

I am not able to tender a report in detail, not having the necessary data at hand, but I refer you as to that to my last year's report to the N. E. C., where the details can be found in regard to the work accomplished during these four or six years past.

Since that report, however, we are pleased to report that last November 1 we started our Greek publication, the semi-monthly *Bulletin*, in print, up to then published in mimeographic form.

Funds at hand of our two Branches—Detroit and Chicago—as

per reports up to April 1, are \$73.10. *Bulletin* Fund (report up to the 1st of March, last), \$140.64. Organizer Fund, \$56.33.

The Branches are holding two meetings a month regularly. Detroit Branch reports 65 regular meetings and 40 public lectures. We also have started holding entertainments, having held two lately, successfully. Study classes, besides, are the order of the day. These are considered to be the most essential part of our education. Branch Detroit is a member of the Weekly People Guard, having contributed toward that fund (postage included) \$193.06.

Requests about our message from different parts of the country are rather increasing lately, and we do the best in our ability to meet and respond to them, hoping to increase our membership before long. Lack of funds is handicapping us, but we must and shall overcome these and other obstacles in our way.

Our aim is to change the title of the organ, *Bulletin*, to that of the original of our Greek organ, namely, *Organosis*, as soon as we are assured of our ability successfully to continue the publication. I hope this will take place soon and before the end of this year.

In short, we are in the happy mood and proud enough to report to you that in spite of all obstacles and handicaps the Greek element of the land has begun to hearken to our message and organize in the ranks of the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the working class of America, the indestructible S.L.P.

With this in mind we beg to close our report, assuring you that we are at work laboring and patiently ad-

vancing to the glorious day of labor's emancipation.

Fraternally submitted,
P. J. Coroneos,
Secretary.

Champaign, Ill.,
April 10, 1932.

Party Membership.

On the basis of sale of dues stamps, and considering the number of exemption stamps furnished, the membership has increased during the four years. The sale of dues stamps for the year ended March 31, 1932, showed an increase in the sale of dues stamps of five per cent over that of the preceding year. Notwithstanding this fact the number of exemption stamps furnished during the last year was more than doubled. According to the records the following exemption stamps have been furnished since 1928:

1927-1928	555
1928-1929	539
1929-1930	664
1930-1931	1,689
1931-1932	3,869

For the year just ended this amount was apportioned between Federations and Sections as follows:

Federation	1,675
Sections	2,194

The total number of exemption stamps furnished indicates that about 325 members of the Party are unable to pay dues. We think that it may be taken for granted that this does not nearly represent the num-

ber of members out of work for the reason that there still are many members who refuse to demand or accept exemption stamps. The refusal seems to be based entirely upon mistaken ideas of pride. However this may be, the fact remains that despite the nominal increase in the granting of exemption stamps, the sale of dues stamps has increased. The total membership, including those exempted and roughly estimating the number of those who do not buy dues stamps and do not ask for exemption stamps, may be said to be around 2,500.

With regard to exemption stamps it is noteworthy that the highest figure was reached in March 1932, the figure having risen gradually with 167 stamps furnished in November, 307 in December, 253 in January, 294 in February and 326 in March, showing a constant increase in the number of unemployed among the members of the Party.

Party Organs.

The Party publishes the following weekly publications: *WEEKLY PEOPLE* (English), *Rabotnicheska Prosveta* (Bulgarian), *A Munkas* (Hungarian), *Radnicka Borba* (South Slavonian), and also the *Bulletin*, Greek S. L. P. monthly, which is being issued by our Greek Branches under the immediate supervision of the Branch in Chicago, with Comrade P. Coroneos as the editor. It is planned to enlarge this paper as soon as funds are available. As already mentioned, the Scandinavian Federation organ, *Arbetaren*, was discontinued at the end of 1928.

Internal Disturbances.

The four-year period just ended has produced its quota of disruptions and crop of disrupters quite in regulation manner. To begin with, there were some minor troubles in Tacoma which resulted in the expulsion of two members of Section Tacoma, Wash., G. Rush and S. A. Witherspoon. In 1931 there developed another minor disruption in Detroit. Though the disruption was insignificant, especially in its effect, it was accompanied with more noise than is usually the case. We are all thoroughly familiar with the story, and it need only be added that the evolution of the leading disrupter—an "intellectual" jackass if ever there was one—was entirely in line with the S. L. P. Law of Disruption, and his followers, most of them as ignorant as himself of Marxian economics and Socialism in general, scattered, some apparently dropping out altogether, true to the maxim that truth unites while error scatters. As a matter of record it might be well to restate here the S. L. P. Law of Disruption:

While a vain and ambitious member of the Party is still seemingly in accord with the principles and policies of the S. L. P. he is invariably found to be extravagant in his praise of S. L. P. officials, frequently to an embarrassing degree. He will name his offspring (if he has any) after these officials; he will publicly utter flattering remarks about them in their presence; he will express his great confidence in them, and loudly declaim about their supposed great wisdom. In doing this he will enjoy a re-

flected glory which, however imaginary, will suffuse his ego and cause him to feel as one of the exalted ones.

But—if such a member develops a difference with the Party, or if upon occasions his views are not concurred in, he will discover sundry interesting things:

First, that the National Secretary or National Editor is a petty czar (or petty czarina, as the case may be!); that the national officers are autocratic, intolerant and offensive.

Secondly, that the national officers are ignorant of Marxism (and nowadays, of De Leonism); that they are prompted by sordid motives; that getting a salary is the chief reason that attaches them to the offices to which the membership elected them; and that it is only through their being able to impose upon the membership that they are able to continue in office.

Thirdly, and as a consequence of the foregoing, they aver that any budding geniuses or promising material in the membership is being kept down, and in cases where such a budding genius will not be kept down, he is ruthlessly driven out of the Party, into the cold, cruel and unappreciative world, leaving the autocratic, czaristic officials in triumph, continuing to grind into the dust the hapless membership which trembles in fear before the monsters.

Fourthly, the disrupter discovers that the executive committees of the organizations are mere rubber stamps, but the membership is still fine and noble and would, if they only knew how

they were being imposed upon, turn out the despots in office; at the same time it is suggested that if the disrupter's advice is not heeded the movement will collapse and it is hinted that the revolution is not likely to succeed if the misjudged genius is not there to guide it.

Fifthly, it is discovered that the membership is incurably docile, that in Party matters there prevails among them what with elegance in taste is designated "incestuousness," and that the rank and file is incapable of thinking independently.

Sixthly, serious flaws are now found in the Party's principles — its Industrial Union conception is all wrong; it is wrong on the tax question; on the division of society into two classes, etc., etc. Finally, all of these things are liquidated in the general resolution that the workers themselves are hopeless, nothing can be done for them, unless they suffer the imposing of a dictatorship upon themselves, and that failing in this, it is just as well to take things easy, and make the most of the situation while the making is good.

Thus the "pilgrim's progress" of the super-ego, from super-admiration of the Party and its officers to super-frustration.

This is the S. L. P. Law of Disruption.

If the ex-professor had set out to prove the correctness of this "law," he could not have done it to greater perfection after he had been expelled from the Party. It is almost as if he had taken his cue from the

sixth clause in the Law of Disruption. Scarcely had he picked himself up from the gutter of infamy into which his anti-S.L.P. acts had precipitated him, than he began to gravitate toward the riff-raff of expelled individuals whose presence a few years earlier had disgraced Section Bronx, and which in the meantime had been "strengthened" by adding to its cult of liars and egomaniacs the, by this time, thoroughly discredited renegade Silver, who only a year or so earlier had denounced this gang in terms which, however truthful and accurate, decent opponents of the group had hesitated to employ. When disrupters of different vintages join forces, something distinctly enjoyable is sure to follow. It was not long before the Detroit disrupter and his man Friday, Sperdon, and one or two youngsters barely out of high school, together with the South Slavonian dross from the 1927 episode, established contact with the half dozen Bronx disrupters. In a particularly vile lampoon—apparently the joint product of the new allies against De Leonism and the S.L.P.—printed some time in June 1931, the long line of disrupters expelled with and since the Seidel disruption, is taken into a warm embrace. Being largely a hash made up from leavings of previous disruption banquets, it is inevitable that the scraps of tidbits in this lampoon should include odds and ends the like of which were never seen on land or sea. As a sample might be mentioned the rhetorical question as to why Federation after Federation had been thrown out of the Party, special mention being made of the Greek Federation. The fact that we

never had a Greek Federation is a matter of minor detail that need disturb no one. But the real *piece de resistance* is found in a brief note accompanying the lampoon wherein jubilantly the newly formed alliance of expelled, discredited and disreputable disrupters is announced, and wherein prospective curiosity seekers are urged to join "a live organization which is going to do something for the Labor Movement." And the information is vouchsafed that the disrupters "expect within a short time to unite with other groups and to organize nationally."

Thus everything seemed perfectly lovely. At last true affinities, truly birds of one feather, had erected a Temple of Concord. But, alas, this paradise was but of short duration. For within two months after the exultant notes of joy had been uttered, ruin and desolation had descended upon the allies. The collapse is beautifully expressed in a letter written by the chief Detroit disrupter dated Dearborn, Mich., August 24, 1931, which begins as follows:

"Yesterday, another comrade and myself went to the scheduled meeting of the Industrial Union League at three o'clock, but found the hall locked. I do not see any possibility of keeping up the organization, no matter how intensely we might believe in the correctness of its position."

Thus the "locked hall" furnished the last straw that broke the camel's (or the donkey's) back. Upon this seemingly trivial incident came to ruin that high and noble emprise which was to locate the revolution or prosperity around the corner (or, as some one said, around the croon-

er, if President Hoover's faith in Rudy Vallee is justified). But that fated straw, apart from breaking the back of the intellectual jackass, was also to lash him into that last but one phase described in the sixth clause of the Law of Disruption. For while Industrial Unionism but a few short weeks before had been the very latest and the only permanent thing in revolutionary fashions, it had now become outmoded, scarcely outlasting in length of time the popularity of the Eugenie hats which, it is said, for a while saved the depression-mad hatters from ruin. In the letter just referred to, the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is now extolled, and Workers and Peasants' Councils are urged as the sure-fire thing in America. As an example of the revolutionary spirit that is taking hold of the peasants of North Dakota, this inconstant lover of disrupters cites the following: "In North Dakota, for example, several thousand farmers have decided to throw down the gage to the existing government." Nothing less than the gage, mark that. One visualizes armed uprisings, bloody battles between pitchfork-armed peasants and well-trained governmental myrmidons. This is how these revolutionary peasants rebelled: "They have passed resolutions to pay no taxes, or debts to business men; they drive their cars without license tags in defiance of the law; they are pooling what cash they have and are dividing their food supplies among themselves; they are doing this IN ORDER TO EAT DURING THE COMING WINTER. The form of organization is the Farmers' Councils; this corresponds very closely to the Russian

Soviet. This is an extra-legal, but a purely political organization; as times grow worse, we will have more of them; we will have them everywhere; and when they grow numerous enough, they will send delegates to a congress, to determine their policies. When they grow sufficiently numerous, they will constitute a state within the capitalist state, existing in defiance of it. This will be what Lenin called the Shadow State."

Let no one now say that the peasants of America have no revolutionary future, no revolutionary program. Something, however, must have gone wrong, for no one else seems to have heard about this terrible rebellion, this twentieth century revival of the French jacquerie depicted by Sue in his story, "The Iron Trevel"—but perhaps jacquerie is the wrong term; considering the source of this wild and ghastly tale of the untamed northwest perhaps one should call it the jackasserie. Be this as it may, Anarcho-Communism and all the archaic tactics of a semi-feudal Europe are suddenly discovered to be the very latest style in revolutions. In the lampoon issued five or six weeks earlier the Detroit disrupter pictures himself advancing toward the revolution over the prostrate body of the National Secretary of the S. L. P., Ave-Caesarizing his stalwarts with "In the name of the Proletarian Revolution, I greet you!" And the hapless "Industrial Union League" was then described as the one true, and truly growing body in the land. In the later lampoon he apostrophizes the so-called Proletarian party as "the only place where . . . I can be of much value to the revolu-

tionary movement.... That organization [he continues] is active....; they are growing in every way. I am casting my lot with them." Which, as one might say, is quite a lot to cast. And so from freaks to freaks, from crooks to crooks, this poor Christian continues his pilgrimage, only to land into greater trouble. For no sooner had he joined that "Proletcult" outfit than new trials arose. According to reports, several splits in the so-called Proletarian party have decimated its none too numerous ranks. The entire Buffalo branch of 40 members is said to have been expelled; elsewhere individuals are reported expelled, and in New York and elsewhere members have quit the group in disgust. Naturally, an opposition bulletin has been published, and so, from the standpoint of one whose soul yearned for peace and tranquillity, it seems to have been a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The poor pilgrim apparently is doomed for the rest of his mortal life to be either among the expelled or the expellers, with no rest in sight. The next stop, however, is clearly indicated, except that it is still doubtful whether it will be Republican, Democratic or some capitalist-insurgent movement. All of which, so far as the S. L. P. is concerned, is a matter of no moment at all.

If some slight attention has been given to this Detroit disrupter, it is not because he is of the slightest importance. On the contrary, it is doubtful that there has ever been a troublemaker in the Party who so readily undertook his own exposure as anti-S.L.P. But he does, in a more complete manner than any of

his predecessors, exemplify the disrupter in all his various phases. He proves to the hilt all that De Leon ever said of the tribe, proves to the last point all that the Party today says of disruption and disrupters, both as to motives and developments. Paraphrasing Marx, we might say that treason against the S. L. P. is represented as a "mass" of disrupters of which the single disrupter is the unit. If we analyze the most representative of these units, we shall have analyzed, and therefore understood, the whole tribe. And for the protection of the newer members it is well that such an analysis be made. From biology we know that in the human being, from conception, through the period of gestation, birth, childhood, young manhood, maturity to old age, is epitomized the evolution of the living organism, from protoplasm through the various stages of lower and higher animal species, to savagery, barbarism and civilization, the three latter corresponding to childhood, youth and mature manhood. Thus in this particular disrupter is epitomized the disrupter since the days when De Leon first encountered, bested and catalogued the animal.

It is understandable that during a period of disruption more should be said about a disrupter than his significance warrants. This, perhaps, is unavoidable. From this, however, it would be wrong to conclude that no attention at all should be paid to him. For one thing, it is important to record these disruptions as a matter of Party history. For another thing, it is important to put the newer members on their guard against these insidious individuals whose

greatest, and oft expressed, wish it is to encompass the destruction of the S. L. P. as an organization. Experience has shown us that disruption may proceed from quite unexpected sources. That is to say, that potential disrupters may succeed in concealing their true nature or purposes for a considerable length of time, though, as Comrade De Lee of Troy so well has put it: No individual, lacking in character, can last long in the S. L. P. It is with these things in mind that this record of disrupters and disruption is made.

The next incident involves no expulsion, though it is to be regretted that this is so. It involves one who has sunk lower than most disrupters, partly because he was honored and trusted, as few were, and partly because he joined the very group which he had previously denounced almost to the point of indecency. The disrupter referred to is Mr. A. Silver. From 1924 to 1927 he had been almost continuously on the road for the Party, and though frequent criticisms had been made of his methods and the value of his work, it was supposed that on the whole the balance was in his favor, for which reason he was retained, the more so since no one else at that time was available. Toward the end of 1928 there were noticeable several indications of un-S.L.P., if not already then definite anti-S.L.P., sentiments. The story of this phase is briefly told in a letter which Comrade A. J. Taylor wrote to the National Secretary and which is reproduced herewith:

"Apropos of our telephone conversation on Saturday last. On look-

ing over my file I do not find any record of my having written to you re the interview with **Adolph Silver** to which he called me in March 1929, when he was yet a member of Section Bronx, S. L. P. Nor do I have any recollection of having written to you upon the matter at any time. I had let the affair rest with the verbal report I gave you at the time.

"But if it is advisable that you have a report of the case for your records, I think this letter may answer the purpose. I am able to give you the substance of the interview now because the incident impressed me vividly, and I have had several occasions subsequently to relate it, thus fixing the matter indelibly in my mind. I understand also that Comrade Mrs. O. M. Johnson was also called to interview Silver two days after me, and that he told her substantially the same story.

"You will recall that Silver was accustomed to respond readily to the invitations of the Greater New York Propaganda Committee to speak at outdoor and indoor meetings of the Party. But for some weeks prior to March 1929 I had encountered a change in his attitude in this regard, a desire to avoid commitments to talk, and I was compelled to urge and press hard on him to accept engagements for the Party in Greater New York. I did not know the reason, and had received no hint of anything being wrong. Finally, about two weeks before the Paris Commune celebration of March 18, 1929, and I had had great difficulty in booking Silver for that affair, I received a telephone call from Silver to meet him in his office at noon that day. I went, and Silver opened

by telling me that the reason he had decided to tell me the things he was about to tell me was because I was 'being used' to obtain his services locally when it was known that as the result of certain ostracisms from which he and his family were suffering at the hands of several local members of the Party he was not desirous of continuing his local activities.

"I protested the accusation that I was 'being used,' and stated emphatically that I knew nothing of the matters at which he hinted, and that I had been urging him on behalf of the Propaganda Committee, at the meetings of which no suspicion had ever been hinted even that there was anything amiss of the nature he had referred to. He insisted on his point, however, and I on mine. He then invited me to lunch to talk things over, and at the table he alleged several instances of un-social discrimination against him and his family by local members whose confidence or hospitality he had hitherto enjoyed, and which now resulted, he claimed, in the ostracism of him and his family, their being denied the social contacts among Party members to which they were accustomed and which had become necessary in their life. This had developed to the stage, he alleged, that it was no longer possible for him to meet the members concerned (he named principally, among others, the Epsteins, the Oranges, the Rosens and Mrs. Johnson), and he had therefore decided to drop his local activities, although it was his intention, he said, to remain a member of the S. L. P. and to speak in places outside of New York if desired to do so. 'What I

want,' he continued, 'is that you don't bother me for any of these local activities. I do not want to meet the members locally.'

"I replied among other things that if he continued in that state of mind, and was foolish enough to make the Party the victim of his dissatisfaction with his personal or lack of personal relations toward local members, he could rest assured that the Propaganda Committee would not invite him to speak again. Should he change his attitude and want to speak again locally, it would rest on him to make it known direct to the committee. I pointed out also that the S. L. P. did not exist for the purpose of organizing social contacts or dinner invitations in the homes of its members, and that such contacts or invitations that did occur were incidental, voluntary and entirely personal among its members; that it behooved every one of us to guard against confusing personal matters with Party work and discipline, or make the Party suffer for incidents with which it could have no concern.

"To all of which he answered in a deprecating manner, insisting upon and emphasizing his right to resentment and to act in the manner he was acting. 'Don't worry,' he said, 'that I shall go to you to ask permission to speak.' 'They'll come to me if they want me, not I to them.' As to his allegations re being ostracised, he reiterated the several instances, and said, 'If I cannot get the social life in the S. L. P. necessary for my wife and children, I can get it elsewhere, in the synagogue, for example.' 'I have been invited,' he said, 'to a banquet to be held on Sunday by a synagogue,

at which I am going with my wife and children, and where I can joke and fun around and give them a good time.' 'Do you know,' he said, 'I have a rich brother-in-law, worth about half a million, who is connected with a synagogue, and whom I have scarcely met in eighteen years due to my activities in the S. L. P. He is anxious to do anything for me, and if I want to get with him and his connections I can easily find the social life which I am being denied in the S. L. P. Only the other day he said to me, "Adolph, if there is anything you want me to do for you, just let me know, and I'll do it if I can." 'Now,' said Silver, 'if I wanted two or three thousand dollars in my business, he's good for it, and besides, why shouldn't I get for my wife and children the benefit of social contact with such people?'

"Needless to say, I pointed out to Silver that if he thought he could exploit the social life of the synagogue without becoming an integral part thereof by joining the synagogue, he would find himself mistaken and quickly deserted by that element, and on the outside looking in again. They would be equally as justified in refusing to let you exploit them in that manner as would be the S. L. P., I replied.

"To this he counselled me not to worry. 'I know what I am talking about,' he said, 'and how to handle myself. There's a full life waiting for us outside the S. L. P. if we cannot get it inside, and I know how to go after it.'

"The rest of our conversation was a review of these same things, and at last I left him, thoroughly disgusted with his whole attitude toward these matters, which for the

time being seemed unalterable by anything I could tell him.

"In parenthesis, Comrade Adolph Orange, to whom I related this interview at the time, could not get it out of his mind that Silver was kidding me with this synagogue talk. But only a week ago, referring to this matter, Comrade Orange told me that he subsequently changed his own view of the matter, as, after my interview with Silver, he, Orange, met this brother-in-law at Silver's house, and that subsequent inquiries he made revealed that the wealth of the brother-in-law was a fable, and that Silver was probably deceived by him into thinking he could do something for him.

"Yours fraternally,
"A. J. Taylor.

"January 19, 1931."

Comrade Olive M. Johnson, who had also had a session with the gentleman, corroborated this account in the following letter:

"I have read the accompanying statement of Taylor and find it covering essentially the same conversation I had with Silver a few days later. I may add this, however, that evidently Mr. Silver at the time I talked with him had been to his first party in the synagogue where he felt his wit had been well received and appreciated. Throughout, of course, he emphasized the slight that he imagined had been put upon him socially by certain members but every once in a while something would come out to show that his actions had their roots far deeper. He spoke of this 'half millionaire' cousin mentioned by Taylor and hinted at his disadvantage at being in the

Party and neglecting such associations, citing as an example that when he lately started in business he needed some money. Having confined himself to S. L. P. associations, S. L. P. men were his only friends and, said he, 'Of course, I cannot go to any of them and ask for money, since I know they do not have any,' insinuating, of course, that if he had kept social contact with his cousins and that crowd, he could easily have obtained the money. I listened to his 'social grievances,' but every so often I said, 'Yes, you may have made yourself believe that this is the reason for your leaving the Party, but it is not. I know better. I have heard excuses before when people were tired of Party work, but I frankly tell you that yours are the silliest that I have ever heard so far. However much you may emphasize this "slight," I know positively that there are other and more potent reasons in the background.' And, finally, when I parted from him, those were the last words I said.

"Fraternally yours,

"Olive M. Johnson,

"Editor WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"January 22, 1931."

For some reason not known, the National Secretary was not called into consultation by Mr. Silver, an omission for which the former had occasion to be truly thankful. However, during the early part of 1931 it was rumored that Mr. Silver was making overtures to rejoin the Party, despite the fact that by this time it was commonly known that he was fraternizing with the very element which he had previously held in such

low contempt that at the 1928 National Convention he had placed himself in the doorway, barring them from entering. And when one of them whined that conventions are open to the public, Mr. Silver retorted: "True, but you are not the public; you are a dirty disrupter." All of this notwithstanding, he had the temerity to express the desire to rejoin the S. L. P., as he did in a letter to a member from which the following is quoted:

"Here is some news that will surprise you. Last night, Mrs. Silver asked me, 'Don't you think that in spite of what happened, at a time like this your place should be in the Party?' That was all I needed. I am sure missing Party activity and of late I am constantly thinking of getting back. Mrs. Silver's suggestion was all that I needed to decide that I should rejoin. One of these days, as soon as I get time I am going to call up Mr. Orange and talk the matter over with him. It goes without saying that I will say nothing of the past and I hope that every one will be sporty enough to forget it.

"I took a walk with Brandon one evening last week and stepped in to see his Brother Sam. I had a lovely time. He and his wife are very pleasant and sociable. The fact that they are after me to have me join their group may be the reason for it. If they only knew what chance they stand.... Sam Brandon asked me if I would lecture for them. Of course I refused. But this incident touched my sore spot. To talk — what an urge. I realize that I am a slave to it and that I can only talk for the S. L. P. This 'rest' did me a world of good. It gave me time for

reflection about my faults and time to think about what I lack and must cultivate to improve myself as a speaker. I feel that I have not reached my limit in the past, I am just on edge for an audience."

Aye, to talk, to satisfy the paranoiacal cravings for publicity, to be feted, applauded—that was well worth a bite of humble pie, if it was found necessary to take it. But there were ample reasons to doubt the gentleman's disinterestedness, both on the basis of the above quoted record, as well as because of his acknowledged friendship for the elements he had previously condemned as all that was vile. There was, in fact, every reason to suppose that he was to be the entering wedge for the admission of the rest of the Bronx gang of disrupters.

He followed up his first intimation of wishing to rejoin by attending one or more of Section New York's lectures held during the season of 1930-1931, at one of which he turned over to the then organizer of Section Kings County the amount of \$1 for enrolment in the Weekly People Guard. His application and money were unceremoniously rejected in the following letter from the National Secretary to the then Kings County organizer:

"December 27, 1930.

"Mr. John Timmerman,

"Section Kings Co.,

"842 Parkside Ave.,

"Brooklyn, N. Y.

"Dear Comrade Timmerman:

"I received check made out to your order for \$3 with Fortieth Anniversary Fund List No. 738 with \$1 collected on same, and Weekly

People Guard Pledge, with payment of \$2, both from Mr. A. Silver. I am returning the check herewith and have credited your account with List 738 as having been returned blank.

"Mr. Silver, though not formally expelled, belongs in the category of expelled members so far as the general attitude of the S. L. P. toward him is concerned. The reason should be clear to you. He was stronger than any in his condemnation of the Bronx disrupters, being even personally insulting to the two or three leading lights in that group of disrupters, liars and character assassins. It was Mr. Silver who at the National Convention in 1928 moved the publication of the Party's manual on Party discipline, wherein is condemned in unmistakable terms the wrongdoings of the S. L. P. renegade and disrupter. Particular stress is laid in this manual on the utter impropriety of members of the Party associating and fraternizing with expelled disrupters. Yet Mr. Silver has done the very things condemned in the pamphlet which he moved the publication of. He has done worse. He has thrown overboard the Party's principle merely to gratify personal grudges and a wounded ego. So far as the Party is concerned he stands thoroughly identified with the Bronx disrupters, and it would be as illogical and improper to accept any financial support from him, and above all to feature him as a *Weekly People Guard*, as it would be to so feature his pals, the Brandons. For these reasons, then, his Guard pledge, etc., are rejected.

"The S. L. P. is a character builder. The man without character has

no place in the Party. And a man who can so go back to his own vomit as Mr. Silver has done, has shown himself devoid of character. Anyone capable of doing what Mr. Silver has done lacks totally in self-respect, and he who has no self-respect has respect for nothing else.

"His application for membership in the Weekly People Guard is unceremoniously rejected with all that that implies.

"Fraternally yours,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

This apparently convinced him that he was not wanted, which no doubt hurt his sensitive soul, though there are those unkind enough to claim that his enormous and stupid conceit had been hurt—hurt so much that he forgot completely his previous resolve never to join the Bronx gang. Presently we find him doing precisely that which, with the Detroit disrupter simultaneously joining the same group, established one of those happy conjunctions in the history of the S. L. P. disruption that so beautifully demonstrates the logic of the Law of S. L. P. Disruption. He was now bedfellow with the very individuals of whose supposed leader he had said in a letter to the National Secretary, dated August 24, 1926:

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"I received the Brandon correspondence and am amazed at his depravity.

"Some time ago I had an argument with him at my home. It was nothing serious but I hurted his ego and he carried on in such a way that Mrs. Silver warned me to avoid ar-

guments with him. She then said that he is very vicious and that if his conceit is offended he will go the limit. I couldn't see it that way then. She knew him better than I did.

"He sure went the limit this time.

"I will show these letters to Gramaticoff tonight and mail them back to you this evening if possible.

"I received a letter from him last week but he mentioned only that you and him are carrying on a burning correspondence, hot enough to burn the paper. The fact that he didn't say more to me is proof that he himself knows that he is in the wrong.

"His reference to 'previous friendly relations' is rich, but your description of his anxiety to have his articles published is richer. He sure is a bad egg.

"Yours, Silver."

The Party is, indeed, well rid of such as these. It should be added that if Mr. Silver may have duped most of the members of the Party, he did not dupe that realistic and staunch S. L. P. man, Comrade P. E. De Lee of Troy. And it is fair and just to acknowledge that De Lee was right and the rest of us wrong in estimating the character and sincerity of this particular disrupter whose further evolution it may be worth following. For there is every reason to expect a revival of slummism in the labor movement, and the slummist with knowledge of S. L. P. principles may be more dangerous than the ordinary garden variety, even as the agent provocateur who is familiar with the philosophy of Socialism is more useful

to his employers than the ordinary clumsy spy.

The next attack on the integrity of the Party came from the St. Louis territory, and centered first around an individual who had been a member of Section St. Louis for a number of years and who on earlier occasions had expressed disagreement with the Party's attitude toward the Third International and related questions. It had not been known, however, that he held definite anti-S. L. P. views, but the fact that he did so was revealed by a comrade who was then a national member-at-large, Roland Plato, who at the time was in St. Louis. In a letter to the National Secretary, Comrade Plato stated that in conversations with himself and Mrs. Plato, Middlecoff had made the following statement to him:

"During the summer of 1930, I was going through discussion after discussion, with certain members of Section St. Louis. These discussions were always held, either in the privacy of my room, or the homes of these comrades. At the time I was a good listener and a poor talker—because of the fact that I wanted to study Marx and Engels more thoroughly so as to have a sounder basis upon which to base my defense. This I did—and with the result that I have openly combatted these individuals ever since; and tried to, either force them into the open, or to keep their mouths shut. At the present writing it seems as though they prefer to keep quiet—at least when in my presence."

In reply to further correspondence by the National Office, Comrade Plato, in a letter dated April

18, made the following additional statement:

"In a series of discussions with Comrades Middlecoff and Raicoff—these discussions held in the privacy of my rooms and their respective homes—they did their utmost to convince me—through Marx, Engels and Lenin—that the S. L. P. position was untenable and its program unfitted to deal with the oncoming Social Revolution, and the establishment of the Industrial Republic.

"That the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was inevitable and absolutely necessary.

"That it would be impossible to organize Industrial Unions.

"That a civil war between the capitalist class and the working class is inevitable.

"That the advocacy of reforms, for the purpose of educating the masses, was essential.

"That boring from within in the trades unions was essential.

"That the disseminating of the above principles and tactics, in the ranks of the S. L. P., was also essential.

"Realizing that the above discussions took place in the privacy of our respective homes, and that I had no concrete evidence other than the verbal statements of myself and wife, my methods of procedure were to oppose these arguments, to cease participating in these private discussions, and to do my utmost to force them into the open whereby charges could be preferred.....

"I discussed these conditions with Comrade Quinn last December and he also advised that the National Office knew of these conditions, but that nothing could be done until

these comrades came out in the open with their Communistic ideas."

Considerable correspondence passed between the National Office and Middlecoff who also happened to be the Organizer of Section Belleville. The Sub-Committee desired, first of all, to ascertain from Middlecoff whether or not he had actually made these statements so that in case he denied them, the matter might be further investigated, and if the statements had been found unwarranted, then some action might be taken against the member who would thus have been making unwarranted and unjustified statements concerning another member. It became increasingly clear that the charges against him were well-founded, and in order to bring the matter definitely to a head, a statement was sent to Section Belleville with a demand for disciplinary action. In his first letter to the National Office Mr. Middlecoff had agreed with the Sub-Committee that it was better if possible to keep the matter out of the Section and settle it without involving the Section. When, through his own shiftiness and unwillingness to admit or repudiate the views imputed to him, it became necessary to refer the matter to the Section after all, he set up a howl of unconstitutional procedure because the Sub-Committee had not immediately preferred charges against him on the basis of Comrade Plato's, until then, unsupported statements. From then on there was no longer any doubt as to what Mr. Middlecoff intended to do. However, for a long time after the matter was submitted to Section Belleville nothing was heard from the Section,

but upon repeated inquiries being made it finally developed that Middlecoff had decided in his own mind that he was no longer a member—because he had not paid his dues! Yet all the time he functioned—so far as the National Office knew anything about it—as organizer, and matter intended for the Section was continuously mailed to him. In a thoroughly contemptible, sneering letter written to Comrade H. Schilling of Belleville, dated October 15, he said:

"In the month of October I became a member of a real Revolutionary Party."

This "revolutionary party" was the freak outfit sometimes known as the Proletarian party. Thus, while all the time pretending to be outraged at the alleged unjust accusations made by Comrade Plato, he definitely acknowledges that these charges were true, since he had joined one of the very groups where acceptance of these "planks" is necessary for admission. It is difficult to imagine anything quite so jesuitical—though cheaply jesuitical—as this performance. Needless to say, his "resignation" was not accepted, the Sub-Committee insisted that the usual course be followed, and finally after months of delay (on February 19, 1932) Section Belleville expelled a disrupter who by his own admission should have been expelled long before.

Like all disrupters he lies and dodges on every occasion. Thus in his letter of October 15 he says:

"In that letter [of August 27] Petersen says that I demanded the 'entire' correspondence that had passed between the National Office and Plato. Not at any time have

I asked for the 'entire' correspondence. Why does he try to leave such an impression? The purpose is to make my request appear *preposterous*, that is why."

In Middlecoff's letter of July 7 to the National Secretary he said: "Since these statements are just parts of letters he has written, and in which he has involved me, I respectfully ask that the full correspondence be forwarded me before answering the citations of the Sub-Committee." Evidently "full correspondence" to a dodging, jesuitical disrupter does not mean "entire correspondence." Full, to experts on schooners of lager beer, presumably means only half full. Again, in another sneering letter to Comrade Schilling dated December 3, 1931, he said:

"The book 'Voices in Revolt' by Lenin, wherein there is a quotation denying that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is necessary in the U. S. A., I have never read. It is not what I might think of the Dictatorship, but I have never read anywhere that Lenin made such a statement and, if he has I want you to cite me as you said you would, or as your National Organizer has maintained. I want to see that for the purpose of knowing what Lenin has said on that question—I want to learn more all of the time and would appreciate the information."

And tauntingly he adds this P.S.: "Don't forget that book of Lenin's."

On the question of "Proletarian Dictatorship" and Lenin's statements concerning same, Mr. Middlecoff and the rest of his tribe have since been "shown," and their objections have been fully met, leaving them not a leg to stand on. But

there have been no indications that their professed willingness to learn has in any way prevented them from persisting in their anti-Marxian, anti-S.L.P., aye, even anti-Leninist position. In fact, if he had been as eager for the information as he pretends, he would not so conveniently have forgotten that the very Lenin quotation which proved his undoing appeared in the WEEKLY PEOPLE as far back as May 1921, though in a slightly different translation.

This affair had its repercussions in Section St. Louis where H. J. Poelling took up the cudgels in behalf of Mr. Middlecoff. After some dilly-dallying the Section expelled Poelling, who by this time had developed all the symptoms of *dementia disruptioitis*. One or two cronies, who apparently join and leave a revolutionary organization, not on the basis of principles, but on the basis of personalities, joined him by resigning. Thus an end was put to another of those utterly irrational and vicious disruptive outbreaks of which we have had our full measure in the past.

As we have seen, a disrupter is always a 200 per cent De Leonite when he is in the early stages of disruption—frequently he remains that way to the bitter end. Often he succeeds in making unsuspecting "innocent bystanders" believe that he is at least a 150 per cent S.L.P. man. This recalls De Leon's caustic reference to "good" and "bad" S.L.P. men in a Letter Box answer in 1908. Said De Leon:

"The difference between the 'good S. L. P. men' and the 'bad S. L. P. men'? The 'good S. L. P. men' are dearies who allow themselves to

be humbugged; the 'bad S.L.P. men' are tyrants who knock down the would-be humbugger."

As for the rest, it is a waste of time to attempt to refute their silly and lying statements about the S. L. P. and its officers. As De Leon so well put it:

"There is no sense in spending time confuting crooks. Crooks are well aware of their crookedness. As to all others, if they are not crook-proof, what are they fit for but to be dupes?"

In Los Angeles a minor disturbance took place during the early months of the year. An individual by the name of J. W. Monette, who had left the Party about twenty years ago, and who is said to have made a fortune and then lost it, joined the Section and was almost immediately put on the platform as a speaker. Having been out of touch with the Party for so many years, and being not the type who was willing to sit down patiently and relearn what he had forgotten, he naturally misrepresented the Party's position, not understanding it. Unfortunately he was encouraged in his activities by otherwise loyal members, and soon the Section was in turmoil. Fortunately, however, the matter was finally settled by the expulsion of the individual, and apparently no other harm was done than a temporary lapse of activities and bruised feelings.

In Minneapolis there have for some time been disturbances which now appear to be reaching a climax. All the facts may not be available as yet, but enough is known to form a general conclusion. For the purpose of the record letters from the National Secretary and two letters

from Mrs. Nelson are submitted, and this correspondence, in a sense, constitutes a sort of record of the disturbance. Certain parts have been deleted from Mrs. Nelson's letters for the reason that they contain references which in the S. L. P. are slanderous, and some of which in a legal sense may be libelous. The letters follow:

"Minneapolis, Minn.,

"March 8, 1932.

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,

"45 Rose St.,

"New York City, N. Y.

"Dear Comrade:

"At the Section meeting here last Saturday I learned that Mrs. Sacridier had been at her again. I am sorry that Comrade Hass should be so ready and willing to assist her in this..... Last summer Mrs. Sacridier accused me of furnishing Mr. Bargery with her address. She was unable to figure out for herself that he might have got it from the WEEKLY PEOPLE, which as far as I know he must have done. This time she has been busy broadcasting.... that I am attending study classes conducted at the Unitarian Center. She has not taken the trouble to ascertain whether I am guilty of this breach of Party etiquette or not. If she had inquired into the matter she would have found out that I never have attended any of these classes; the fact is I have never for a moment had any intention or desire to join any study class on economics except as are conducted under the auspices of the S.L.P.....

"I never boasted of the 'good material' or 'good timber' in the Unitarian Society. What I tried to

do was to show that the members there were not all freaks.

"I am going to tell you in as short a story as possible what is really taking place here because to me it looks as though the Section is in danger of being broken up. I am not going to state anything which I cannot back up by facts.....

"My connection with the Unitarian Society has been chosen as the salient point of attack. The Unitarian Society has become such a vitally important subject that the three last meetings of the Section have been given over almost entirely to its discussion. The tiresome and disgusting part of this discussion is that Anderson insists on doing most of the talking and he does not know anything about the subject. He calls it an organization of freaks. Sixteen hundred freaks is a good many. He calls it a reform nest, not knowing that fully fifty per cent are of the conservative type, supporters of the status quo. He says it is the most dangerous institution of our time to the revolutionary movement. The Catholic Church with its unrivaled program of organization is not to be compared to this Minneapolisian monster.

"How can an organization so loosely knit as the Unitarian Society, without any prescribed creed, and with such a wide variety of conflicting opinions constitute such a formidable barrier to the onward march of evolutionary and revolutionary progress? To me all this talk seems like the ravings of a mad man. But Mrs. Lanneau and Mrs. Sacridier endorse his every word.....

"Anderson introduced a motion at the January meeting to the effect that action should be taken by the

Section to stop members from attending the Unitarian Center (as he calls the Unitarian Society) and by so doing save the Section from having reform brought in by the back door. Action on this motion was postponed until the February meeting. At this meeting the motion was discussed at length but never put to a vote. A motion to leave the whole discussion out of the minutes carried. At the March meeting Anderson pronounced the motion 'to leave out of the minutes' illegal and moved to reconsider. I objected, stating that, according to Robert's Rules of Order, no one voting on the losing side can move to reconsider. After a lot of talk, stressing the vital importance of recording all this wrangling, a comrade did move to reconsider. Mrs. Sacridier seconded and I objected again. The second had to come from some one who voted on the winning side. The motion lost for want of a second....

"When [they] formulated the motion to prohibit any of the members of Section Minneapolis from attending the Unitarian Society, they were sure of success, if they could only get the motion through. They felt jubilant in advance, feeling certain that I would be sure to rebel, which would give them a just cause to expel me.

"The matter is not settled yet. It will be brought up at the next meeting under some other motion, I am sure.... What action should I take? I feel like preferring charges. But will not do anything until I hear from you.

"Perhaps a little information in regard to the Unitarian Society would be in order. It is a religious organization, a part of the Amer-

ican Unitarian Association, and is incorporated under the laws of the state as such. Mr. Dietrich is a teacher on religious, ethical and philosophical subjects. Comrade Quinn heard him lecture on Ibsen, and liked him so well that he attended again the following Sunday. Under a separate cover I am sending you a bulletin which will give you any detailed information you might care for. The membership, numbering about sixteen hundred, are not all freaks. I would say they correspond to any cross-section of society as far as political views are concerned. The only thing they hold in common is their liberal attitude toward religion. We might as well call all of society freaks as to call all the Unitarians freaks.

"Now why am I connected with this organization? I will tell you frankly. When we came to Minneapolis fourteen years ago, we joined this society to give our children as well as ourselves some social connection. In Henning we had been more or less ostracized on account of our religious and political views. Two years later I joined the S. L. P. During these fourteen years we have all made a lot of friends. In fact, all our friends with few exceptions are found within this group. We all enjoy the social activities carried on at what is called the Unitarian Center, a building purchased by the Unitarian Society for this purpose. Mr. Dietrich lectures at a down town theater.

"Now, Comrade Petersen, I want to be fair in this matter. I want to do the right thing. What I am vitally interested in after all is not the Unitarian Society but the S. L. P. If I could see that cutting myself

loose from all these associations, denying myself the opportunity of enjoying them with my family could in any way redound to the benefit of the Party I would be ready, but for the life of me I can't see it. Besides, if the Unitarian Society is a religious organization, *as it is*, and if the Party takes the stand that religion is a private matter, then why should I be singled out as a criminal for doing what every member of the Party has the right to do? Furthermore, my work in the Section or for the Party has never suffered because of my connection with the Unitarian Society....

"I am ready to fight, win or lose. I will enclose the names and addresses of the other members in case you should care to write any one of them in regards to this matter. Comrade Osborne is the only one that knows I am writing to you.

"I regret very much the circumstances which have made it necessary for me to impose upon your time, and to draw your attention away from more important work by calling on you for assistance to straighten out a mess, which Section Minneapolis should be able to straighten out for themselves. But I am anxious to have this thing settled so we can get to work. I want to help gather the \$100,000.

"Fraternally yours,
"Mrs. Wm. Nelson."

"March 16, 1932.

"Mrs. William Nelson,

"Minneapolis, Minn.

"Dear Comrade:

"I received your letter of March 8. You have made it very difficult for me to reply to your letter as I should like to do because of the in-

temperate language you employ in connection with certain members of Section Minneapolis. The question is not whether you believe that what you say about these comrades is true or not true. *So far as the Party is concerned they are not true until they are proved true.* And there is only one way they can be proved true or untrue, and that is in the form of charges. In other words, no Party member may say of another Party member that he or she is 'an incurable drunkard,' that he or she is engaged in a 'blackmailing game,' or that he or she is engaged in 'safari work,' or to say of certain members that their 'debauchery and dishonesty is a disgrace to the Party,' *except in the form of charges.* You could have told me all that you did without resorting to such improper language, and it would be as improper in me to listen to it without protest, as it would be if others were to write me, referring to you in similar terms. I mention this in some detail because your intemperate and improper language (improper in an S. L. P. organization sense) complicates an already complicated situation, rendering it doubly difficult of a peaceful solution, if indeed that is possible now. Your intemperateness stands out all the stronger against you because of your vehement denial that the members of the Unitarian Society are freaks. To me, and to the S. L. P., it is utterly immaterial whether the Unitarians are called freaks or not; but it is not immaterial to me, or to the S. L. P., that loyal members of the Party are called, by a fellow member, 'blackmailers,' 'incurable drunkards,' 'debauchees,' 'dishonest persons' and similar choice des-

ignations. So much for that.

"I gather that the friction in Section Minneapolis results from your connection with the Unitarian Church. Technically there might be no reason why you could not be a member of that church. Actually, there may be any number of reasons why you ought not to be a member. S. L. P. obligations are not to be measured merely by what the constitution permits or prohibits. Of far greater importance than the letter is the spirit of the constitution. The constitution does not say that a member must not swindle or impose upon another member; it does not say that one member must not work a confidence game on another; it does not say that a member must not violate the sanctity of another member's home; it does not say that a member must not be a white slave trafficker, a procurer, a cheating shyster lawyer; nor does it say specifically that no member may give direct or indirect aid and comfort to bourgeois elements by belonging to bourgeois reform or so-called ethical societies, yet a prohibition of each and every one of these items is implicit in the very composition of the Party and the constitution.

"I have read the booklet which you sent me. I am personally convinced that no member or well-wisher of the S. L. P. should belong to the Unitarian Church, or Unitarian Society as it is also called. You invoke the Party rule that religion is the private concern of the individual. That rule simply means that a member may believe or disbelieve anything he pleases in matters purely and strictly religious—that is, faith in other than mundane matters. It does not mean a Party

member may support, by membership or otherwise, a church body which is avowedly engaged in political or social reform activities — activities that may be aggressively opposed to the Socialist Movement (i.e., the S. L. P.), or which may be of such a nature as to create confusion with regard to possibilities of reform, palliations of social wrong, or a numbing of the class spirit by infusing it with vague, bourgeois ideological yearnings. *For anything which is not definitely of the class spirit (the working class spirit) is inescapably of the bourgeois spirit, whether advanced in the name of religion, ethics, social uplift or what not.*

"The invoking of the Party rule on religion is obviously based on a misconception as to what the Party understands by religion. I am not interested in any of the numerous interpretations of religion as a sort of social faith or ideal. Religion, in a Party sense, means that spiritual solace which some individuals need and find in any of the numerous religious bodies whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or what not. Religion in any other sense than belief in supernaturalism, in a supernatural power, a deity, and all that goes with it, is not religion as implied in the sense of the S. L. P. rule. It is either bourgeois ideology, social reformism, or it is intended as a surreptitious substitution for Marxian Socialism. The more 'radical' a group of such characters seems or sounds, the more objectionable it becomes from the S. L. P. standpoint, for the reason that it is capable of creating far greater confusion than any out and out advocate of the existing social order.

"You assert that this Unitarian Society is a religious organization. Upon the basis of the booklet and leaflets you sent me, I deny this. Not in any sense (except possibly in its vagueness and its ignoring of the economic basis as the impelling force in society) can this society be called religious. It does not share any of the features characteristic of religious bodies or faiths. It definitely 'denies every form of supernaturalism,' and commits itself rather emphatically to a philosophical 'know nothing-ism' which I find it difficult to distinguish from the traditional agnosticism. In one of the leaflets I find this gem: 'It (the Unitarian Society) is essentially religious, not in the traditional, but in the scientific and ethical sense of the word.' It is as if a person were to utter such nonsense as this: 'S.P. ism is essentially Socialist, not in the traditional sense, but in the humanistic and ethical sense of the word.' Moreover, how can a word, which definitely connotes the supernatural, have any scientific sense? Playing fast and loose with terms is reprehensible in the highest degree, for nothing so conduces to confusion and muddled thinking as that. While the Unitarian Society does not share the features characteristic of religious bodies (for which reason the use of the word religion in connection with it is a misuse of terms), it does definitely share the characteristic features of social reformism, or economic freakishness. As an example let me quote the following from the pamphlet: 'If we could do away with the cut-throat competition for world markets and the over-population through unrestricted breeding, what might not be achieved toward

world peace? And, if intelligent birth control could become a general practice, freed from churchly taboo, what help might not come to the solution of a dozen perplexing problems—such as unemployment, immigration, community health, slum congestion, over-population and war?' In this definitely Malthusian, definitely anti-Marxian statement, we have a perfect picture of the social reformer, showing him in his composite character, representative of reaction, utopianism, freakishness and utter bewilderment. Surely, this organization is no more religious than are the S. P., the Anarcho-Communists, or any of the utopian or fraudulent groups combatted tirelessly by the S. L. P.

"There is another interesting, and in this connection very important, fact concerning the subject under discussion, and this is it. I am reliably informed that the S.L.P.-hating Bargery, the expelled disrupter, is a member of the Unitarian Society, and that he is scheduled to speak on Socialism! That this person, who has committed every crime possible against the Socialist Labor Party, who is known as a character who would resort to any method that would serve his disruptive anti-S. L. P. purposes, should be picked by this 'religious' society to speak on Socialism (or on any subject for that matter) is indeed the crowning climax. It is as if the society would definitely and emphatically certify to its anti-S. L. P. character. It is as if it flung into the Party's face the challenge: Here is the impurity you eliminated—lo! we take it unto our bosom, and parade it as the real thing to your greater humiliation

and defamation! And you, a member of a society that will do this!

"Comrade Mrs. Nelson, you are a member of the S. L. P. As such I must believe you to be sincere until proved otherwise. But if you are sincere, the conclusion is inescapable that you are terribly, almost hopelessly confused. You cannot reconcile your membership in and association with the Unitarian Church with your duties and loyalty to the Socialist Labor Party. You ask, in effect, my advice: It is to withdraw absolutely, and with no reservations whatever, from the Unitarian Society; or to resign your membership in the Socialist Labor Party. You say in your letter that the Section is in danger of being broken up. But by your own letter the Section is de facto broken up, and so long as the situation remains as it is now, it will be destroyed. How can you cooperate with people whom you have characterized as indicated above? What you are asking is that those whom you have excoriated be thrown out of the Party. Unless you sever your relations, formally and in fact, with the social reform group called Unitarian Church (or Society), and withdraw your offensive references to Party members who are loyal and clear as to principles, whatever may be their human failings, I see no solution to the present problem presented by Section Minneapolis other than your elimination from the Section. And assuming that you cannot sacrifice your 'social connection' on the altar of your S. L. P. convictions, and do it in the complete knowledge that it is the only, because the correct thing to do, and if you are really sincere in your professed devotion to the Party's in-

terests, then you will quietly withdraw and permit those who differ with you because of their S. L. P. clarity and loyalty, to work for the organization which not only meets with their unqualified approval in matters political and economic, but which also supplies them with the social life or intercourse craved by normal men and women. The Socialist Labor Party, first, last and all the time—that, after all, is the motto of the real S. L. P. member. All else (outside one's family life and obligations) is inconsequential or destructive of one's usefulness as a member of the S. L. P.

"At this point, I cannot resist the temptation to draw a parallel between your case and that of an individual who fortunately is now outside the Party. (I shall not mention his name lest I be misunderstood, nor is it pertinent. You might guess who the person is, and if you do, I should want to add that no invidious comparison is intended. For whatever I think of some of your views I think you are an honorable person, which this person is not). The individual in question fancied himself offended, or snubbed in a 'society' sense, by other members. It seems he was not invited to a purely informal gathering at the home of a comrade. The whole thing may have been a pretext to quarrel with the Party, but at any rate this is what he said (in substance): If I cannot have social life in the S. L. P., I am going to get it elsewhere. I can get all I want in the synagogue, where my talents and wit will be appreciated. I will get my social life in the synagogue.—Well, the gentleman is now definitely associated with a small group of as pernicious, ly-

ing and unscrupulous disrupters it has ever been my pleasure to assist in eliminating from the S. L. P.—a group of which Mr. Barger would be a worthy and fully qualified member. (Perhaps he is one.) Is this talk about a social life outside the S. L. P. which I do not understand. Perhaps it is because I have no time for it that I have no notion of what is called a social life. I know that my work and thought for the S. L. P. occupy my every waking hour, and, like the healthy person who needs no strong drink as stimulants to keep happy, I need no 'social life' other than S. L. P. associations in order to enjoy a full and normal life. But if I did crave such social life I should certainly not seek it among organized groups of utopians, reformers and bourgeois idealists in general.

"The Socialist Labor Party is a revolutionary organization. It insists relentlessly upon Party discipline which means the subordination of the individual to the interests of the organization as a whole. Such a Party cannot be wasting its time dilly-dallying with error and confusion. Such a Party must put its foot down as emphatically on error and confusion as it does on treason and deliberate disruption. I shall regret if you should find it proper and necessary to choose your Unitarian Society rather than the S. L. P., for I shall be the last to deny that you have done good work for the Party in the past. Barring the incident involving the disrupters Larson and Barger, I, as National Secretary, and at this distance, would find nothing but praise for your work done for the immortal and indestructible S. L. P. It is true that the

above mentioned incident put you to a severe test, and it is equally true that you did not come through the test as the Party had a right to hope and expect of you. Your actions then served to shake the confidence in you that even your closest S. L. P. friends had reposed in you, a confidence that certainly cannot be strengthened by your present attitude and indirect fraternization, or at least association with a disrupter so thoroughly repugnant to all that the S. L. P. stands for. But it must be as clear to you now, as it certainly is to me, that as between the S. L. P. and any body such as the Unitarian Society or Church, the choice must, to me and the clear and loyal members in Section Minneapolis, be the S. L. P., with undivided loyalty and wholehearted devotion, and in firm conviction that it, and it alone, represents the truth in matters political, economic, aye, even ethical, spiritual and social.

"I trust that this letter may help you to determine your course, and that whatever your final decision may be, that you will have no cause to regret it.

"Fraternally yours,

"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

"Minneapolis, Minn.,
"March 30, 1932.

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"45 Rose St.,
"New York City.

"Dear Comrade:

"Your letter has been carefully read and reread. I appreciate the time and thought you have given to this matter. I understand your position and your line of reasoning, all

the more perhaps, because I have reasoned along the same lines a good many times, not only with myself, but with members of my family. I hate to think that I am hopelessly confused even though I have also reasoned from the premise that the Unitarian Society as an organization is a religious body (religion to me does not connote supernaturalism) and that the aim and work of the minister is to inspire to action rather than to point out the correct line of action.

"If I could have felt satisfied that the aim and object of the Unitarian Society was to carry on social reform activities, then my course would have been clear. But the facts in the case do not permit of a conclusion quite so sweeping as that. The great majority of addresses, after all, are on religious subjects and a good half of the membership are ultra-conservative when it comes to politics. When I have considered this and the unpleasantness it would cause in my own family should I break completely then my course has not been quite so clear.

"Arnold Anderson and I discussed this subject with Comrade Reynolds when he was here in 1928. His advice was in substance to make our influence felt and to stay until they kicked us out. The organization guarantees perfect freedom of thought and expression. This gives opportunity to criticize and to point out the fallacy of such statements as you quoted in your letter.

"But this all belongs to the past. The question now is: Shall it be the Unitarian Society or the Socialist Labor Party? When the question comes to me in that form then there is no longer any pondering neces-

sary. It is then the Socialist Labor Party and it will be the Socialist Labor Party. I am sorry that you should find it necessary to doubt me.

"I have already asked the secretary of the Unitarian Society to strike my name from the membership list. You also advise me to withdraw my offensive references to Party members. This is not so easy to follow. I am willing to admit that I could have told my story without the use of 'intemperate language.' But after all I would only be saying the same thing in different words. Right here I would like to state that I did not use the word 'incurable' as you quote me. I used the word 'habitual'....

"The friction in Section Minneapolis is not there as a result of my connection with the Unitarian Society. The friction was there before the Unitarian Society was considered or looked upon as a menace, and when the parties who now denounce it attended as often as I did.

"There is one question I'd like to ask, and then I am through. From your letter I am led to believe that personal failings do not much matter as long as the members in question are loyal and clear as to Party principles. If personal failings are intemperance, and if intemperance proves to be a positive menace to the organization, will the S. L. P. take any action against it? Wouldn't this kind of intemperance come under the ban as being contrary to the spirit of the constitution even if it were not contrary to the letter of it?

"Awaiting your reply, I am

"Fraternally yours,

"Mrs. Wm. Nelson."

Via Air Mail.

"April 7 1931

"Mrs. Wm. Nelson,

"Minneapolis, Minn.

"Dear Comrade:

"I received your letter of March 30 and had intended to reply to this letter in the same spirit in which I thought your letter was written to me. Unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately) other important matters prevented my answering your letter. Meanwhile I received information from the secretary of the Minnesota S. E. C. regarding the charges and counter-charges which had been preferred within the Section. I immediately wired Comrade Osborne for information and received confirmation of the statements made regarding these charges. The information is that you preferred charges against Comrades Foy and Sacridier and that in turn charges were preferred against you by Comrade Ryan. In view of this fact it is impossible for me to accept your letter as having been written to me in good faith. Let me review this entire case as briefly as possible.

"Last summer you were known to have fraternized with an expelled disrupter, one S. G. Bargery. There need be no question as to the facts in the case, for you admitted in your letter to me of June 2, 1931, that you had acted in his behalf, which is to say that you had given aid and comfort to one of the most contemptible enemies of the Socialist Labor Party. In your letter of June 2 you stated: '*When I championed the cause of Mr. Bargery I honestly believed him sincere in his desire to join and work for the Party.*' And you continued: '*and when*

I spoke out in his behalf at the S. E. C. meeting in February....' (Underlining mine.) And toward the end of the letter you said: 'I hope that this unfortunate action on my part in allowing my sympathies to temporarily override my better judgment may be forgiven and forgotten.'

"Merely as a matter of record I would add here that your attitude in the Larson case was entirely in line with the attitude which you had taken in the so-called Bargery matter, that is, an attitude distinctly out of line with the attitude of the Party, and the discipline of the organization. In other words, you here exhibited yourself as a thoroughly undisciplined, wavering member, certifying to your unsound judgment and your self-acknowledged sympathies with expelled disrupters. If the proper thing had been done at the time you would have been placed under charges and either suspended for a definite period or expelled from the organization. Your letter of 'confession' of June 2 had the effect of predisposing the National Organization in your favor, whatever may have been the case locally, and this feeling on the part of the National Office was strengthened by Comrade Quinn's strong plea in your behalf. Nevertheless, in his letter of August 1 in reporting on the matter to the National Office, Comrade Quinn made it clear that he had impressed upon you, as well as upon the members of the Section, that it is utterly reprehensible for anyone to maintain association in any manner whatever with expelled disrupters, and that if anyone continued to do so the proper way to do is to discipline

them by placing them on trial in the Section.' Notwithstanding this fact, you continued your membership in the so-called Unitarian Church, or Society, as it is sometimes called, and for a time at least you were a fellow-member of this expelled disrupter Bargery, thus voluntarily continuing the very association and fraternizing which you had been definitely told would be cause for placing you under charges. In view of this fact is it any wonder that the loyal members of the Section began to view you with suspicion? Is it any wonder that the loyal comrades began to ask themselves, and possibly each other, whether it was not time that some action be taken to bring order into the Section, and to throw out of the front door any disruption that may have sneaked in through the back door? In logic and reason no one can be surprised that this is exactly what the loyal members of the Section began to ask themselves and each other.

"We now come to the later phase of this amazing affair. On March 8 you wrote me a letter in which you attempted to explain your position within the Party as well as within the Unitarian Society. In making your explanation you went out of your way slandering and libeling loyal Party members by calling them 'blackmailers,' 'habitual drunkards,' 'debauchees,' 'dishonest persons,' etc., etc. If once again your letter had not been couched in such a manner as to disarm me with regard to your possible motives, I should without any delay have turned a copy of your letter over to the Section with instructions that charges be preferred against you

immediately. I contented myself with rebuking you for the improper language employed, and pointing out to you that such statements must not be made about fellow-members of the Party except in the form of charges. I specifically called upon you to withdraw your offensive references to Party members who are loyal and clear as to the principles of the Party, and I did all of this, obviously, on the assumption that you were as anxious as I was to prevent a rupture in the Section which appeared to lead to the expulsion and reorganization of the Section. For when the membership of a Section appears to be as divided as was the case in Minneapolis, it is obvious that the National Organization must step in and correct the situation by forcible elimination of undesirable elements, or elements which are not capable of conducting themselves in a disciplined manner. When, therefore, I wrote you on March 16, I did so on the supposition that you would either quietly withdraw from the organization, or acknowledge your mistake, bury the past, and take your place quietly in the ranks of the Party working for the principles of the organization. This impression was strengthened by the last paragraph in your letter which I shall repeat here: 'I regret very much the circumstances which have made it necessary for me to impose upon your time, and to draw your attention away from more important work by calling on you for assistance to straighten out a mess, which Section Minneapolis should be able to straighten out for themselves. But I am anxious to have this thing settled so that we can get

to work. I want to help gather the \$100,000.'

"And now, how do you go about carrying through this resolution of yours to straighten out the mess in Minneapolis and to help gather the \$100,000 Campaign Fund? First of all by writing a letter to Comrade Eric Hass which was as improper as it was uncalled for. In this letter to Comrade Hass you permit your emotions, charged as it seems to me, as well as to Comrade Hass, with considerable venom, to run away once more with what I still hope is your better judgment. You abuse Comrade Hass in terms similar to those employed in your first letter to me of March 8, directly accusing Comrade Hass of aiding and abetting in blackmailing and similar criminal or improper doings. You are accusing Comrade Hass of not 'playing a fair game at all' when you, as a member of the S. L. P., should have known that no member of the S. L. P. is in the organization to play any kind of a game. The rebuke administered you by Comrade Eric Hass was as deserved as it was dignified. Comrade Hass's letter to you is the absolute antithesis of your letters to him and to me, and marks Comrade Hass as the sound and well disciplined S. L. P. member which your letters prove you not to be. This was your first step toward straightening out the mess, and getting busy with helping to collect the \$100,000 Campaign Fund. Your second step is to throw Section Minneapolis into turmoil by preferring charges against Comrades Foy and Sacridier — and on what grounds? For blackmailing you? Evidently you realized the ultra libelous nature of that statement —

for in your letter to me you expressed a desire to withdraw the remarks 'blackmailing' and 'blackmailer,' and substitute for it the term 'blacklisting.' It is a strain on one's credulity, Comrade Nelson, to accept your substitute. If you had merely used the term 'blackmail,' one might have supposed that you had made a mistake, but you used the word 'blackmailing.' Now one may speak of being blacklisted, but one does not say, and still less write, that another person is a blacklister. That term is perfectly meaningless and nonsensical. It is evident that you did mean to say blackmailing, but that you realized that that was a charge which you could not possibly prove. Now if Mrs. Sacridier were so minded she could bring suit against you for libeling her. I did, of course, have these things in mind when I urged in my letter to you that you quietly withdraw, or withdraw your libelous and slanderous remarks, for I know what the consequences of that sort of thing may be. But, as stated, instead of doing that you, the offender, turn upon those whom you have offended, including the Party whose principles and program they have endeavored to uphold, and you prefer charges against them, thus precipitating that turmoil and 'mess' which it had been my endeavor, and which at first I thought was your endeavor to prevent. I dislike to seek for ulterior motives, but when such motives suggest themselves in a forcible manner, and are directly related to the issue before us, I find it necessary at least to suggest the possibility of an ulterior motive, and its nature. You knew that Comrade Foy had been elected delegate to the Nation-

al Convention. You were bitterly opposed to have Comrade Foy go as a delegate to the National Convention. It quite evidently occurred to you that the only way that you could prevent having Comrade Foy serve as delegate to the convention would be to prefer charges against him. As a matter of fact, Comrade Nelson, wasn't that precisely the reason for your precipitant action in preferring these charges?

"I have gone into this matter at such lengths for I am now convinced that it is time for plain speaking and for action that will put a definite end to the situation that has been precipitated in Minneapolis largely, if not entirely, through your mistaken ideas as to the proper duties of an S. L. P. member in relation to expelled disrupters and bourgeois reform societies dedicated to economic and sociological freakishness. If you had realized your previous mistakes, if the enormity of your offense a year ago had been borne in upon you fully, you would have humbled yourself and acknowledged with sincere regret all that you have done, and you would then have set about to conduct yourself in such a manner that suspicion as to your motives would be utterly removed. You know you have done none of these things. Instead of humbling yourself, you have exalted yourself and set yourself up as a self-righteous judge of the conduct of comrades whose loyalty and wholehearted devotion to S. L. P. principles and organization cannot be questioned. You have exhibited yourself in a manner so self-centered, so egotistical, and heedless of results to others and to the Party, that it would have been a miracle